[881] The *chief*, having appointed a day on which the ceremonies shall begin, sends a messenger with a fowl to a medicine-man whom he asks to conduct the ceremonies. The medi-
[791] cine-man is called *m'wichila* " he of the tails." He carries his medicines stuffed in the tail-skin of a gnu or sobra and we shall see that his tail or tails play a very important part. Having sent word back to the *chief* of his acceptance of the invitation, he gets his wife to prepare some fresh castor-oil with which he will remake his medicines, and sends out the boys of the village to collect firewood. A big bonfire is made and dancing goes on all that night in his village. Early next morning he returns to the door of his hut where his *wife*
[201] hands him his " tails." He then immediately departs for the village of the chief. His wife trills with her tongue, this being the sign of his departure, and dancing men, some friend (often his brother) who acts as his *chief* assistant, his wife, and others will go with him.

[539] He signals his approach to the chief's village by singing:

" *Ku*	*mun'ko*	*nguvio,*	*nguvio'nu!*	*Tinguichi!* "
" You	at the	village!		I shan't be long! "

As he enters the village, all the women hail his arrival by trilling the tongue (*ku-lulula*). He goes straight to the open space in front of the chief's house where the *chief* meets him. The *chief* immediately goes into his house and producing a cloth, gives it to the *m'wichila* who then places his " tail " on the ground, (*ndulilo*, "things put down"); these are the signs of the compact. A house is given to the *m'wichila* wherein he may rest and sleep.

That night, all the mothers of the boys who are to undergo their initiation, now called *wali* (*sing. mwali*), pound flour for the morrow. Early the next morning, the *m'wichila* visits the place where the pounding is going on and collects a little flour from each woman's basket into a small basket he himself carries.

The *chief* then gives him a cock and a hen, an axe and a hoe; with these he goes off accompanied by the fathers of the *wali* to the spot where *Lupanda* will be made. Arrived there, he first points out the spot where his own hut is to be erected. This is quickly built, followed by the shelters for the *wali*.

The cock and hen are then killed and cooked, also some porridge; the entire fowl is cooked; the liver is not cooked separately. When it is ready, the *m'wichila* takes a piece of the liver from the pot and some porridge from the other pot together in one hand and then throws them into a little hole where his " tail " has been resting. At this spot, *Lupanda* is made. The *m'wichila* then partakes of both again and eats; after he has finished, the other men eat.

[531] After the building of the shelters is finished, fire-wood is collected. On the roofs of the grass shelters figures of animals in grass may be strung up on posts, but they have no definite significance.

In the meantime in the village, the *chief* has had *mbepasi* (ceremonial flour) prepared. It is made from millet by his head wife, who must not be near a menstrual period.

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When the sun sets, all the boys to undergo the ceremonies (*uali*) together with their sponsors or guardians, *akamusi*, (*nkamusi* sing.) are called together to the village open-space (*pang'anga*). The *nkamusi* attends his ward throughout the ceremony; he may be an elder brother, an uncle, or someone else who volunteers for the service. 881

The *uali* are lined up and headed by a "leader," *nachilompola*, who is usually the most important boy, perhaps a relative of the chief; thus they pass one by one in front of the chief who anoints each on the forehead with *nkepesi* from a small basket. As each boy passes, his mother runs up and throws into the basket a string of beads or nowadays small silver coins. When all have passed, the chief sends some near relative with the basket still containing some flour and the beads or money to the *m'wichila* who is waiting at *Lupanda*.

This is his signal to prepare to receive the *uali;* he dresses, and accompanied by drummers goes to meet the file of *uali*. The *uali* accompanied by their *akamusi*, their mothers and sisters, sing as they approach: 881 539 533

"*Tuuje kunga* (*unyago*) *ukaluli tuuje!*"
"Let us go back, perhaps there is no ceremony!"

The *m'wichila* as he meets them sings:

"*Anachichi pakwisa nawo wanache'wa kuleka hilombe kwisa nalye!*"
"Why to come with them these children to leave (a small drum) to come with it?"

and follows this in answer to the song of the *uali* with:

"*Ku nkali nkauje,* (Repeat) *Kwa kwa!* (Chorus) *Mkauje wose!*"
"To the village don't go back. Don't go back all!"

The *uali* now on the outskirts of *Lupanda* are formed into a ring, behind them their *akamusi* and behind these their mothers and sisters. Then the *m'wichila* leads the way to *Lupanda* singing:

"*Likumbo lya ndembo!*"
"Spoor of an elephant!"

Next, he calls all the mothers to form in two lines resting at right angles on *Lupanda* and sings to them:

"*Kepungu tula pasi kwin'ani kwangali ulonga!*"
"The eagle lighted on the ground as in the air there is not near relationship!"

The *m'wichila* and his chief assistant each provided with a "tail" strike lightly on the basket which each woman has on her head; then each with a hand on the basket, they lift it down to the ground. Starting with the mother of the "leader," they go round to each mother in turn. The *m'wichila* then to the sound of drums and clapping by the women dances and runs round peeping into each basket exclaiming, "I see so and so in this basket!" saying noses, penes, medicine, women's pudenda and so on, after which the women take the baskets of food away to the boys' shelters. The *m'wichila* next sings: 881

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88| 533 539 "*Tinguntula nnunungu ku Lupunda, pinyu uje'pu kundanda nunpungu!*"
"I will go and bring my child to *Lupunda*, when I am going home I feel nervous!"

and running round he seizes hold of one of the *usuli* and makes him sit down at *Lupunda*, continuing this until he has placed them all in a circle round *Lupunda*. He then sings a song about the little basket which the chief sent him containing the remains of the *mbepesi* flour:

"*Kasala anyuu akumilinga, unpula mbwumunda, unuu!*"
"Little basket the owner asks for it back, give me home, mother!"

His wife who has been waiting in his hut nearby brings him the basket. Holding it in his hands, he prays to the spirits of his ancestors and all the previous medicine-men to whom his medicine-talis have belonged, invoking their aid that the ceremonies may go well.

Still holding the basket he begins to dance, singing:

"*Apakale mbepesi jau!*"
"Let them (us) smear flour their (Let us baptise them!)"

and dipping his right elbow into the basket he smears each *msuli* on the forehead with the *mbepesi* flour. He then goes into his hut and fetches a bundle of powdered roots (which no woman may touch), medicine called *mtibulo*, that is, a medicine used for its aphrodisiac properties. Holding the medicine between the palms of his uplifted hands, he starts singing:

"*Kukwaimanga kushipopola, twatumanga mlomu!*"
"I cannot find out how to untie this, we tied (with) my brother-in-law!"

He is immediately surrounded by his assistants and the drummers, who dance round him, all holding their hands about his own, after which he unfastens the bundle of medicine and puts a little on the tongue of each *msuli*, beginning with the leader. He then takes some sweet-beer made by the chief's wife and pouring it into his old medicine-gourd, he mixes in some *mtibulo* and gives some to each *msuli* to drink after which he sings:

"*Amwela,*[1] *amwela mwanje wa imanga, chakulya mwandanda*
"You have drunk a mixture of water and maize flour, of eating eggs
achilecha panapano, Amwela, amwela ndundilo mukwesa;
you stop now, you have drunk (but) I have passed water (in it);
wuli(ji) kulemuka!"
you thought to be clever!"

[302] Next he goes into his hut with the small basket containing the *mbepesi* and paints his assistant with the flour, a semicircle round the forehead, a line down the middle of the face, a band across the chest, a line down each arm with rings round the arms and forearms, and a line down the middle of the back. They go out again into the ring and while the *n'wichilo* sings:

[1] This may be a reference to *mwela*, the sacrificial cup.

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"Nampopo lendele chicongo anyali ku malambo kwendela kwanila!"
"The lizard casts lots boys to graves as to going to die!"

his assistant with the basket held in his mouth acts the part of the *nampopo*, a medium-sized lizard with brilliant blue body and orange head which bobs its head up and down. The assistant lies on his belly and bobs his head and shoulders up and down, lifting himself on his hands. (Children often clap their hands as they watch the *nampopo* bobbing up and down "like a lot-caster" and call out to it to cast lots for them.) The assistant then crawls up to the leader and puts the basket on his head. Bowing his face to the ground for a moment, he again takes the basket and places it on the head of the next *mwali* and so on all around.

After this the *wali* go and sit near the bonfire which is not yet lighted, while the *m'wichila* sings to the women:

"Ngand(e) atelache! kajeela!"
"The beans! Let him cook a cricket."

and the women give him a basket of beans with which he makes sifting movements, singing: "Shall I throw them away, shall I put them in the cooking pot?" while the women clap.

His assistants are then told to go and light the bonfire. He himself goes to his hut and places his "tails" in the *nkepesi* basket, and carrying it to the bonfire, he throws some of the flour on the fire, "to regulate its heat." This is the sign to begin the dancing which goes on all night while the *wali* lie round the fire, each lying with his head on the waist of the next, the leader in front.

In the early morning of the second day, the *m'wichila* holding his "tails" in his hands runs astraddle over all the reclining *wali* and facing the same way, runs back, after which the boys are called.

He sings a song:

"Mesalesa (a) 'go kwaluwaga!"
"The red ants those bite!"

and he pretends to pick them off the boys. After this, he sings:

"Nchitemi kenge mbakulipwe/ (mbakulupwe)!"
"Push clitoris little mother!"

as he goes to each *mwali* and throws his "tail" into the boy's hands, receives it back and then puts it on his head till the mother places a coin on his head which is the payment made to the assistant. *Ku-lupwa* = to occur; *ngalupwa* = not at home; *mbakulipwe* = is it not at home, is it not present? The meaning of the phrase in the song is, "Is your mother not here to pay the fee?" *Mbakulipwe* is a pun on *mbakulupwe*, "little mother." This is followed by another song:

"Kapimbi'gwe, upwe anapa mtela!"
"The little lemur, you jump from tree to tree!"

881 as he climbs a tree with his back to the trunk; at the top he hangs by his legs and looks
533 down on the crowd, his assistants doing the same. Coming down he runs to his hut; throw-
ing his "tail" into the air and catching it again, he enters.

539 This is about nine A.M.; all rest till about eleven o'clock, the *wali* meanwhile eating food cooked by their mothers in the shelters. About eleven o'clock, the *m'wichila* takes a big gourd and putting his "tails" into it covered with a calico cloth, gives it to his assistant who carries it on his head and follows him to a pool of water, accompanied by all the women except any young ones who have not borne children. He invites them to go "crab hunting."

At the pool he enters the water with his assistants round him, except the assistant with the gourd, who stands on the bank. The *m'wichila* makes movements as of hunting for crabs in the water singing:

"*Chisasangula ngulili ngali wangu wasuma!*"
"There must be hunting otherwise I should have had to eat porridge my without relish!"

He pretends to catch a crab and his hands are immediately grasped by his assistants in the water who all help him to convey it to the gourd as the "tail" is taken out of it.

881 The crowd then returns to *Lupanda* to enact the *nambunde* ceremony. *Nambunde* is a representation of an animal made of bark on a frame-work covered with mud and painted with flour in spiral markings, hence the name (*mbunde* is a part of a spiral shell from the Zanzibar coast much prized by natives as an ornament). The animal is really the sable antelope with horns and the *m'wichila's* "tails" in place; there is a man inside it. It is made perhaps a mile away and then brought near to *Lupanda* and placed in a cleared area.

The *m'wichila* on his return from crab-hunting has gone into his hut and put on his full regalia; then, accompanied by his drummers, he comes out and is immediately followed by the *wali* and the rest of the crowd; knowing where the *nambunde* will be put, he leads the people in the opposite direction calling out to them to look out for the antelope. They, of course, all look in the wrong direction, so when he knows *nambunde* is in place, he wheels around and sings, "There is the animal!"

In the old days the chief was present for this, a platform being built for him. When the *nambunde* appeared, he gave his hunters much powder (no bullets) and they shot at the animal. The animal would fall as if hit and the *m'wichila* would approach to claim it as his beast, but it would promptly get up and charge, to be driven off by the crowd, whereupon it would run away into the bush.

Lots are then cast by the *m'wichila*, using a tortoise shell stuffed with medicine. The *wali* all stand in a circle with their mothers behind them, while the *m'wichila* goes to the
[779] leader and throws the tortoise at the boy's chest. If it sticks there, all is well and he proceeds to each boy. Should the shell not stick on the boy's chest, it portends ill-luck to that individual and he has to be dealt with further. The *m'wichila*, holding his "tail," and his assistant holding a horn of medicine, stand back to back, with the boy between

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them. They then rub the boy up and down with their backs, after which the assistant throws the horn at the boy's chest. If it sticks, the bad-luck is overcome and the women will trill joyfully with their tongues; if it drops to the ground, evil is foretold and forebodings as to the boy's fate at *Ndapulo* are whispered round. He is given further medicine against the predicted evil, but lots will not again be cast about him.

Next the w'mishilo sings:

"*Nasuchichove* *mesombo,* *wanjisho* *upesuwe,* *jisu* *upawaje*
"The one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living, come that I may shave thee,
nasuchichove *mesombo,* *wanjisho* *upesuwe!*"
the one who scrapes hairs, (your) father is still living! (Chorus) "*Jundi, jundi!*"

Jundi is a word meaning "sticking up in all directions" and refers to the hair.

One assistant holds a pot of water, a second, a leaf of the *mpundu* tree, and the w'mishilo a razor. They approach the leader; water is rubbed on the forehead by the first assistant, the second smears the place with the leaf. The w'mishilo then removes a little tuft of hair from the boy's forehead and puts it in the boy's left palm, followed by the nail parings from the left hand, and a tuft of hair from the back of the head. This is done to each *mwali* in turn after which he sings:

"*Twanaje* *kipalamendola!*"
"Let us shave them" (*ku-palamendola,* to trim by shaving)

as he walks round them, after which the boys go to their mothers who are allowed to trim the hair on the forehead in any way they like. This may take ten minutes, after which they return, still holding their hair and nails in their hands. As they return, the w'mishilo, thrusting his "tail" under the left arm, starts off, all the *wali* falling in behind him, and thus he leads the way into the bush accompanied only by the *wali*, singing:

"*Kapili* *ku* *mwale* *mwali!*"
"The Kapili make the mwale tree *mwali!*"

He marches through the forest until he finds *chilulo*, a small dome-shaped ant hill about a foot high. He carries his "tail" under his arm and a reed-buck's horn of medicine in his hand. Arrived at the *chilulo*, he chips the top off the ant hill with the horn and his "tail," scoops a hole in the exposed surface with the horn, and then smears this hollow with medicine from the horn. The leader then approaches and drops his hair and nail parings little by little into the hole, followed by each *mwali* in turn; each immediately turns about and never looks back on the ant hill. When all have done so, the w'mishilo sets the top of the ant hill back into its place, having the "tail" and medicine horn in his axilla; he then turns about and becomes the last of the file as they march back to *Lupanda* while he sings the same song as before.

This particular ceremony is the most sacred of the *Unyago* as it is known only to the *wali*. It is the sign of burying the past of childhood. If another w'mishilo could find such

881 a piece, he would take part of it and its contents and add to his own medicine "to make him a more powerful *m'michila*."

533 On the way back, the *m'michila* takes a piece of bamboo in his right hand and when he
539 comes to a *mjombo* sapling, the boys all surround him in a ring; with the "tail" in his left hand he strikes the *mjombo* sapling, and as it rebounds, he strikes it with the bamboo; while the sapling swings backwards and forwards, he sings:

"Ngama ngamama mlasi ni mjombo!
"Striking I have struck together the bamboo and the mjombo tree!
halimlele' amumli halimlele!"
sharpen for yourself"

The *m'michila* takes both his "tails." Holding them in his left hand against the *mjombo* sapling, the bushy part of the tails uppermost, and in the other hand a stick smeared with beeswax, he rubs the sapling at a point just below the "tails," still singing the song given above. The stick is said to represent an axe. After this, he takes a real axe and cuts off the top of the sapling. Then all the boys seize the sapling and work the bark off without cutting it anywhere, while the *m'michila* continues to sing. The bark he puts in his armpit and sings as he jumps about:

"Tinjipwila paparja, (lichenja) chipulubo pululu!"
"I shall fall into the pit, jumping about here and there!"

When they arrive at *Lupanda*, the *m'michila* unseen goes to his own hut to make string from the bark, the boys to the place where *Lupanda* is made. This is at about three in the afternoon.

When the string is ready, the *m'michila* takes it to cross-roads, plaits it into necklaces, and anoints them with medicine for the *unki*. On his return to his own house, the mothers have cooked porridge for the boys, and the baskets of food are put ready at *Lupanda*. The *m'michila* then steps in and sings:

"Tulo (nji) winji wuna amao, wampa unkongamilupa!"
"(A) little mouse (has) many children, mother, all are to be fed!"

As he does so, he takes some food in his hand and puts it into the mouth of the leader, and so on all round, while all the people keep at a distance. Then with a hoe he makes a small mound where *ching'undo-ng'unda* will be erected and puts on it a little of the *nkopasi* from his house. Here he seats the leader and round him sit all the other *unki*. The *m'michila* then sings:

"Tinsonde chamu chanya lala kunkujo'lo ahuwampala ngamuja!"
"I will take off heads my today where they go to it seems they will never come back!"

[1] *Ku-unki*, to whet a knife.

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He collects from the boys' necks the beads they are wearing, lifting them off with his mafilelwa horn; these are all his perquisites, to be sent off to his house. He then starts singing:

"*Nachilimpala Lupanda upanu upalupuwo pakale jakwamaga, mahiku!*"
"The leader (of) *Lupanda* (is) an animal big worth killing with a spear, tail!"

This means to the leader's relatives that the boy is worth a spear; one is promptly brought and leaned against the leader; the n'michila steps up and taking it, bends the spearhead and sends it towards his house. He then sings:

"*Njojoko nati kalungu kwajoko nati*
"Things which are put to lean up against even little sugar cane to lean things up against even
kapanda kwajoko!"
little arrow!"

The relatives then bring all kinds of presents and lean them against the boys; these are the perquisites of the dancing men. The *wali* go away to eat now with their *akawasi* behind the shelters. The *akawasi* tie up any food that is left in leaves, for later use. They then return to the roughly-made *ching'undung'unda* where the n'michila meets them. The *wali* stand in a circle round him and outside them in a ring, the parents, while the leader is set on the *ching'undung'unda* mound.

The n'michila sings:

"*Asanjisi ukanya pa mtu'pa kapasi unandi, ukanya, ambiranje!*"
"You of the buffalo hair (lit. feathers) on the head you put flour ukanya call me."

as he then goes around and touches each *mwali* with his "tail." The idea here is that the *wali* with flour on their foreheads resemble buffaloes which have white patches on their horns, and they will therefore be as strong as these beasts in the bush whither they are about to go.

The n'michila then runs away to his hut and breaking a hole through the back, makes for the bush. The assistants know this disappearance is the signal of his departure for *Ndapala*. This happens about four o'clock. All exclaim "*Aaaah!*"; (to exclaim thus is *kuomba*, "to exclaim with apprehension.") The assistants head off in the same direction, followed by the *akawasi* and their *wali*, while the mothers of the boys who may never see them again, throw sticks on the path as they run away as the sign of forgetting their sons for the time being.

All the men will also accompany the *wali* until they find the n'michila. He having left the chief's basket at *Lupanda* has brought some of the *ukapasi* with him in his own basket. One of the men brings a gourd full of water; the n'michila pours some of the water into his basket of flour and gives a drink of this first to the leader and then to each *mwali*

88] in turn. After drinking, they sit down while the n'mishila gives instructions that here they sleep tonight. He takes his basket and starts to run back to *Lupanda*, singing:

[533 539] "*Ee* *hwajile* *pakidaja* *ukumdaja* *hulanjiwe* *ku M'unde!*"
"Where we went to mantara to *Munde!*"

Then going to the back of his hut, he enters and takes a piece of lurk left there last night into a dish containing medicine which has been put in by an assistant. This assistant holds in his hand the neck of one of the fowls which was killed at *Lupanda*. The n'mishila washes his face and chest with medicine to cleanse his eyes and then leans forward to the assistant and bites a piece off the neck of the fowl which the assistant holds out, and eats it. This is *ku-lumiwa*, "to taste a small piece," often the liver, before starting to eat the flesh; this is generally done by the most important person. The n'mishila has been followed by his assistants who do as he has done. They all follow him next round the cooking place for the boys at *Lupanda*, each standing for a moment on the stones which have supported the cooking pots, while the women sit looking on sadly. He begins to dance and the women join in, singing *Silwata*. He then calls the parents of the *unli* and leads them to where the bonfire was. There assembled, he tells them they must not bathe, and that tomorrow morning early, porridge is to be sent to the *unli* which must be prepared by a woman who has had connection with her husband and who has not washed her hands; this is supposed to make the boys strong. Early in the morning, the husband, who likewise has not washed his hands, carries the food to the *unli* and personally gives portions to each boy to eat.

681 304 When they have partaken of the food, the circumcision is performed by the n'mishila who has returned the same morning early. The *unli* one by one, commencing with the leader, go forward a little to the place where the n'mishila awaits them. Each *unli* is accompanied by his *nkomasi* who commonly says, "Come along and you shall eat of the honey made by the bumblebee." Such honey is very sweet and called *nsawa*. This refers in sarcastic terms to the pain the boy is about to undergo. The boy squats down, leaning back on his *nkomasi* who supports him, while the medicine-man, having warned the lad not to cry out, performs the circumcision with a small knife called *chiwanda*. It is a triangular knife with one cutting edge and a handle produced from the opposite corner. Properly the Yao method is, I believe, only to nick the free margin of the prepuce just to the right of the middle line near the frenum, but complete circumcision is now commonly practised, possibly as the result of Swahili influence. In this case, the prepuce is seized and held by the fingers, and division made by a circular incision without using a clamp or forked stick. [412] [752] A dressing of charcoal and oil may be applied or medicine is chewed in the mouth and the saliva spat on the wound and the boy sent on to rest under some convenient tree.

88 [751] When all the *unli* have been circumcised, they are gathered together in one place and the n'mishila dividing them into groups, puts on the neck of the leader of each group a necklace made of plaited bark from the *mpindo* tree;[1] these necklaces contain medicine against all evils - witchcraft, attack by lions, etc.

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some sweetbeer into a big gourd. Then his assistants will carry away, together with a hen, to *Luyenda*, whither the n'mishila now goes to remain while brewing goes on for four days. 98 | 273

During their stay at *Luyenda*, the n'mishila and his assistants live on flour and chickens begged from the mothers of the souli. On the first day nothing is done; on the second day they begin making the *Isopgo* or figures in relief of animals, etc., to be described later; *Nzumupumi* is made this day. On the third day the other figures are made and on the fourth day *ching'undung'undu*. Into the ground where *ching'undung'undu* is made, some of the strong beer, known as *ngungu*, which is added to the flour and water mixture on the fourth day as signified by *ku-kukijula*, is poured by the n'mishila.

When the work at *Luyenda* is finished, the n'mishila carrying his " tail " leads his assistants wearing their feather headdresses back to the chief's village singing:

"*Ningukila ukuna kungu ukukijila ku nsui, mukungu ukumuna!* [533
"I must go and see how perhaps they have mixed at the village, ancestors oh dear! 534
Chikunda shumpiani ngulgu unu nisipumila mila!"
The going out of a day or two ago if I had not taken tobacco I would have died of hunger!"

Arriving at the village where the brewing is going on, the n'mishila takes a cup and putting his " tails " on the ground, he dips into the pot of beer belonging to the leader's mother, pours some on his " tail," and then drinks some. Then he puts more into a gourd, together with some medicine, and going up to the chief who sits in his verandah overlooking the brewing place, he kneels, and first drinking a little himself, he presents the drinking gourd of beer to the chief who drinks and then returns the cup to the n'mishila who finishes it. Picking up his " tail," he then goes straight back to *Luyenda* while his assistants with some men nominated by the chief go round circuming pots of beer in turn. The assistants choose by striking a pot with a medicine-tail. These pots of beer are then put aside to cool, while moderate drinking begins in the chief's house. This takes place in the morning of the day on which the souli will return from *Ndiquila* to *Luyenda*, and in the afternoon, the people from the villages will go out to *Luyenda* to take part in the return. The return is made about sunset.

The souli at *Ndiquila* are put into their shelters and the doorways barricaded. At sunset or just after, the place is set on fire and the souli have to charge their way through the bank of the shelters. They then form in line, wearing a slip of bark cloth round their loins and over this, a kind of kilt called *mupijamiso* if made of frilled-cut bark-cloth, or *mujenga* if made of palm leaves. Accompanied by the chimesi, they proceed towards *Luyenda*, each carrying a stick of smouldering wood and an unlit torch of bark-cloth. 98 [273]

The burning of the huts at *Ndiquila* has been the sign to the n'mishila that the souli have left; he puts round his waist a bark cloth belt, *chamba*, and a rattle ank round his chest with the ends hanging down behind and on his head he wears the *lisopo* headdress made of the feathers of chimpo, the widow-bird. In each hand he carries the tail of gnu or zebra, held right end up, with the hollow end filled with " medicine." Thus arrayed, he goes out 98 | 533 534

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along the path towards *Nikapolo*, to meet the *wali*, accompanied by the drummers and all the women, singing:

"*Mukwetu kwinyapolo wale*"
"The lioness down the stream!"

When he meets the *wali*, they all throw their lighted torches at him and he flees back to *Luyanda*. The *wali* continue their procession and are brought round to the still unlit bonfire known as *chilimpuli*.

At the order of the *n'wichilo*, the fire is now lighted and the *wali* lie around it. The *n'wichilo* again appears with the drummers, and all the women and other villagers form a big circle round about. He sings:

"*Chamdolo chilimpio mlejo, wanda'wa chilimpipopo*"
"The (lord) fire is now flaring up people those it is afraid of them!"

Dancing and singing them go on all night while the *wali* lie round the fire where they are allowed to sleep. As dawn approaches, the *n'wichilo* again sings:

"*Chendi/ Mwalwa, mwali, Amwaw mwanache, mbale*
"Please! it is crying, you girl, arrange the child, the girdle of beads round its waist
mwanche chinyapwi"
her there be sojourn of the person!"

Amwaw: a woman carries her child bound to her back by a piece of cloth passing under her own arms and tied in front. If the cloth gets loose, she jogs the child up higher on her back as she rearranges the cloth; this is what is meant by *amwaw*.

The *akwetwi* wakes the *wali* as the *n'wichilo* sings:

"*Kwendukiwa wakwi*"
"To now after the man!"

That is, he is looking about for the *inyapo*. He then leads them off to *nakunyumi*, the whale, the first of the *inyapo*.

I shall first go on with an account of *Mlimanda*'s practice to the end of the ceremony and then discuss the *inyapo* in greater detail.

Arrived at *nakunyumi*, the *n'wichilo* sings:

"*Nakunyumi nalilenda, nakunyumi nalemili kwikiliwa*"
"The whale is the pool, the whale has blocked the bed!"

after which he straddles the head of the whale while one of his assistants does the same at the tail and then sitting, they do a kind of wriggling dance, singing to the time marked by clapping of hands:

"*Kakunyumi akankwendo, ah! ah!* (Impact) *Apakapolo wate kwinkiwa; apakapolo*
"The whale showed his back above the water, ah! There it did hit me; there
wate kwamdiwa; *Ewe, awe, awe, awe*"
it did hit breath;"

The n'wiriddo then gets off on the left side, his assistant on the right and they stand in the shallow depressions. The n'wiriddo starts asking riddles; he says, "*N'dawi* (riddle)!" and is answered by his assistant "*J'iche* (let it come)!" Here is one:

"*Kangwe, kapile pasi!*"
"The little mouse it has delocated, it has gone into the ground!"
Answer: "*Mdidipi!* (roots)!"

He then goes round the crowd for the answer—if they cannot guess, they say, "*Ali enene,*" "it is yourself (to answer)." There are hundreds of such riddles.

The n'wiriddo points to the tusks depicted in the *chinyago* and tells the people, "Long ago this used to be an elephant; look at the tusks." The hump at its back he tells them is the name as *ching'undung'undu* which they will find further along.

They pass next to *mbanda*, the zebra; a pair, male and female, is always figured.

"*Ajiji ngati mbanda ja mbuju Ambilimwaka! Yoonse pakuti!*"
"This one is it not the zebra of Mister Mkumaka! everything (is) beautiful!"

Sometimes a story is told to show that the zebra used to go to the sea to drink but seeing the whale, he ran away and came to the country of the python.

Then to *nsato*, the python; he sings:

"*Anamto kwinyuji! pawe, ejo! Yoonse pakuti!*"
"You python come and answer! all (is) beautiful!"

At the crocodile, *ngwena*, he sings:

"*Chingwena mbamba, pawe! ejo! chingwena mwanyakapala mani!*"
"Mr Crocodile devourer, he sleeps at the side of the water!"

At *mwezi*, the moon:

"*Amwezi mbamba, pawe! ejo, mwezi!*"
"You moon devourer, !"

Next, they come to *mchikole mkowa*, the people drunk with beer. Two men lie on the ground, feet to feet with nothing on; the *pudendia* are covered with bark-cloth and the whole of their bodies painted with earth and flour to look like two female figures in earth. The song is:

"*W'chikole mkowa: kwichile mwanaki, mchikole mkowa!*"
"Drunk with beer: come and see the women, drunk with beer!"

A mzungi is pointed: the disguise to a woman who gets drunk, lies on the ground, and exposes her person. As the n'wiriddo makes these remarks, the figures lewdnie staggeringly as a drunken woman would. He conducts the mzili and all the other people past many of the other images such as *chiwi*, *ngoko*, *mbwambo*, *mbole*, etc., and only stops at those he considers his own special *isyapo*. The seven specially dealt with by Mkumaka were as above together with *mbalapi*, the sable antelope:

681 533 539 "*Asumbidaga ulumbo, gungu pakasi*"
"Two mbio dumb, everything (is) lovely!"

Nani usuwe ulumbolo, the fairy. There is no longer but two posts representing the fairy; the n'wisikilo stands on one side of the two posts with his two assistants opposite him, one holding a bunch of leaves, the other a burning log: the first fans the log of the second, using leaves as bellows, while the n'wisikilo sings:

"*Hyumbo, ngumbo, hajilolalo, ngumbo*"
"The female pedendo, where it pushes itself!"

after which the mali one by one are pushed through between the two assistants. *Chumbolo* signifies the passage from one part of the ceremony to another; here, from the *ingoge* to *ching'undung'undo*. *Ku-jumbolo* = to cross a stream.

As they reach *ching'undung'undo* the n'wisikilo sings:

"Ching'undung'undo undilumbolo jingumo ngwe jakuyumbalo undilumbo!"
"Ching'undung'undo I have marked out if it were ochre distinctive of shield!"

One of his assistants is told to go and get a pot of beer. When it is brought he sings:

"*Asumali, kamunko, wamila kunyumo!*"
"You girl, little fly, wash your hands behind you!"

841 533 539 608 This is the sign for the woman who volunteers for the service to the leader, to come forward, followed in turn, as each mundi is dealt with, by other women. The woman stands back to back with her mundi and they hold hands, while the n'wisikilo comes and pours a little beer on their hands; they make movements as of washing the hands and then separate, the woman rejoining the crowd, the boy standing to one side until all have performed the rite. This woman ever afterwards is treated by the mundi as his adopted sister. After this, each mkamusi takes his mundi into the bush near by and holding the boy's cloth over the lad's head, he waits there for the boy's relatives to come and redeem him with fees. It is a point of honor that as many relatives as possible shall turn out to show that the boy is much liked, this being, of course, so much the better for the mkamusi who gets a present from each. The mkamusi then uncover the boys' faces and hand over the lads to their mothers who take them away to rest in the shelters.

The n'wisikilo, sometime, has withdrawn to his hut, where all the relatives later collect; he then comes out holding his " tail," singing:

"*Kwende ulujoje ukwenugwe kuga!*"
"Come and bathe those who love to bathe!"

Each adopted sister or woman guardian takes her mundi brother on her back and carries him off to the stream to bathe. The woman sets her mundi down on the bank and then leans across his back while the n'wisikilo comes along and dipping his " tail " into the

stream, sprinkles the boy on the chest with the water. Then the positions are reversed and the woman receives the " tail " on her chest, after which they plunge into the water and bathe, each pouring water over the other. The woman rubs the boy's back and he in turn slyly rubs the back of his woman guardian. Clothes are not removed. Everyone looks on.

While this is going on, the m'unikila and his assistants build a kind of fence across the return road; as the people start back, he sings:

"Mate wanga alizowa nenapwa wakwaka masaka/"
"For my they are buying I myself they give me the spirits!"

that is " everyone has got to buy from me the gifts I myself have from the spirits." As each woman comes up carrying her mundi, the mother runs out and makes a payment to the m'unikila so that her son may be allowed to pass. The boys are carried back to the shelters where they rest. The mother of the leader cooks food into which the m'unikila puts medicine; he then gives some to each mundi to eat, after which they partake of the food prepared by their mothers, while the m'unikila goes to the village for the beer drinking, returning in the afternoon. In the interval the dancing men dance *chewka*, etc.

Oil standing in separate basins on the ground has previously been prepared for anointing the mali. The m'unikila takes each basin and passes it across the palm of his hand on which he has smeared medicine, each basin being set down on the ground again. Taking a stick, he smears it with medicine from his " tail," and he dips it into each basin. He then comes with his " tail " to detect any woman who may have had any sexual intercourse instead of remaining continent during the stay at *Nkapula*. He dips his " tail " into each basin of oil in turn and holds it up for the oil to run off. If the oil runs off in a stream, the mother as she stands behind her basin of oil is welcomed as a good mother; if the oil runs off drop by drop, " ndoli," the woman is laughed to scorn. Her basin is changed for that of another woman or her oil is thrown away and some from another basin is put in its place so that no harm shall result to the boy.

The *akamwi* then take the boys into the bush near by. The *mapajawiza* dress is removed, the body anointed with the oil, and fresh bark-cloth dyed black is put on. Little bows and arrows are made of small branches and grass and with these the mali shoot as they again enter *Lupanda*, putting the bows down on *ching'undung'undo* to the trilling of all the women present.

Immediately after this, the return is made to the village, just after sunset, the women having been busy gathering up all their belongings, while the boys were being anointed.

Some of the assistants lead the procession, the mali following in single file, all mali subdued and walking very slowly, dressed in the new bark-cloth round the loins, with many ropes of beads round the neck and body, a headband of bark, and down the back a string of beads to which is attached a tassel. Each carries in his hand a wand about five feet long, *mpanga*, with a pattern burned in the shaft and two rattles, *masawa*, affixed at the upper end.

88 While the *wali* thus march solemnly along shaking their wands, the assistants begin singing:

"*Ee ulenga anitwa!*"
"To the gate they have shut!"

[53] [54] to which the *wali* reply:

"*Kunwa kumbapito*"
"There is no place where to pass!"

The *n'wichila* remains at *Lupanda* till everyone else has left; he then runs fire to the shelters and leaving without looking back, runs to overtake the procession and then leads it on towards the village still at a slow pace, while all around is a yelling crowd of delighted mothers and other relatives and the assistants and drummers, all singing and shouting.

When the outskirts of the village are reached, the *n'wichila* halts and waits for the *chief* to come out and give them permission to enter. The *chief* brings *calico* which unrolled on the ground measures the length of the procession of *wali*. Headed now by their leader, the *wali* walk over this calico, while the assistants roll it up behind them for the *n'wichila*, as it is part of his payment. Flour may be brought him at the same time, carried by the *chief's* wives.

At an *Unyago* I witnessed at Kuminama's, the halt was called on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village where a bamboo arch had been erected. The arrival of *Chief* Maimuya at this point with calico and flour was the sign for a demonstration by his young men who ran forward as if in battle, firing off blank rounds from old Tower muskets and executing a kind of war dance.

After the calico has been handed over, the *chief* returns to his kraal and the procession continues into the village, across the village open space to the fence round the *chief's* house. There, the *wali* enter by a gateway and disperse over the courtyard where they find their sleeping-mats laid out ready for them by their mothers. The *n'wichila* lays his "tail" on the leader's mat to bring good luck thenceforth. With *Mlemula*, there is no further part for the *wali*, but in some cases they are called upon by the *chief* to give an exhibition of their dancing and drumming. The *wali* sleep that night in the kraal and disperse the following day.

In the morning, the *n'wichila* takes his "tail" and a stirring stick made from a millet stalk with the roots on it, and strikes the ground at points in a row in front of the *chief's* house. Here the pots of beer which have been prepared are placed in rows, those chosen by the *chief* and those chosen by the *n'wichila*, and drinking commences. The *n'wichila*, before he joins in, takes the *wali* to an ash-heap in the village and there sprinkles them with medicine from a grain-mortar after which they go with their *akamwai* behind a house and change into new cloths. They then go and salute the *chief* by clapping their hands and depart to their villages, duly initiated and somewhat subdued by what they have been through. Their new names as "men" may be given them by the *akamwai* either at *Lupanda* or After the return to the village.

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778 gives an excellent idea of the average figure; it is circular in plan, often with a little hillock in the centre known as *kukumbi kampopoli*, "the hill of debt," and disposed in the quadrants are four depressions.

881 778 When the *wali* are introduced to *Chinyuse*, they stand round in a circle while the *m'wimbilo* stands in one of the depressions with perhaps two of his assistants in others. The *m'wimbilo* sings:

533 539 "*Ngwe kampopoli chimapopoli mwapoka nimpwile kwilemba, mwai*
"The lake enormous was I born child I would have died on the plain, mother!"
Nimpwile nimpwile!"

or

"I have lived by the great lake all my life; I should have died in the plains."

while all three make movements as of paddling a canoe. The depressions are said to represent canoes. I believe this is the recognized form but I have also seen an oblong figure with two outlines of unmistakable canoes. *Chinyuse* is usually found near *nahungwi*.

Chisin, when represented, stands beyond *nihonde*. It consists of two trenches at right angles forming a cross, which are covered over with logs and earth and the whole outlined with flour in a decorative pattern. The end of one limb of the cross is left open and round this opening a screen of grass is made. As the *wali* approach *Chisin*, some of the assistants or *akamwai* descend into the trenches for the ceremony. The *m'wimbilo* takes up his stand at the centre of the cross and sings:

"*Chisin, mwe, kwikala chisin!*"
"*Chisin, mother, come we chisin!*"

881 778 [775] Then as everyone says "*Listen, listen!*" crying is heard "coming out of the bowels of the earth," followed by drumming and the singing of the *chindimba* songs (sometimes *nihonde* or *mwiko*); a horn is sometimes heard as well as *lululuto*, trilling with the tongue against the lips. *Chisin* is called "the resting place of all departed spirits" and the sounds are said to be the echoes of their doings. The word is not met with elsewhere among the Yao, although it occurs in the Chinyanja and in other languages of this country with the meaning "the heavens."

Chiwata is said by Hetherwick[1] to be "a large fish that forms one of the pictures at the *Unyago*," but I have never seen it or heard of it, and I am doubtful of the correctness of the statement.

778 [531] *Ching'undung'undu*: Dr. Davey's photograph[2] is an excellent reproduction of this figure, which consists of a mound of earth flattened on the top, and decorated with geometric patterns in flour which extend to the ground. In the centre and at the four corners, so to speak, are implanted billets of wood with decorative lines and dots in black and red on the white wood (Pl. X, figs. 1, 2). The billets are three inches in diameter and project twelve to fifteen inches above the ground.

[1] *Handbook of the Yao language*, op. cit., p. 142. [2] Op. cit., Pl. III, fig. 2.

[88] The evening of the first day is called *lyuwa lya mukanowa*, or "the day of singing," as singing is kept up far into the night, but the exact significance of the word *likanowa* I have been unable to find out.

[515] The second day is spoken of as *lyuwa lya masowa*, "the day of washing of hands," (*kusowa*, "to wash the hands") when the *wali* are specially instructed as to the necessities of washing hands before preparing food, etc.; precept is followed by practice. The night is spent quietly; for this day's proceedings few people probably will have remained.

On the third day, however, they come back again from their villages in crowds to witness the performances of *usowa, lyuwa lya usowa*, "the day of house moving" (*kusowa*, "to change one's abode, carrying goods and chattels with one"). A representation is given of an onslaught on a village by enemies and all pretend to run away carrying their worldly goods with them. The part of the attackers is played by a number of women who, armed with guns and having donned belts and powder horns, rush in on the crowd from the bush and make prisoners of all they can catch. The men are put in miniature slave-sticks; women who are seen trying to run off with a child on the back, one round the neck and one on each hip, are driven as prisoners into a group. When all the noise and fun are over, the prisoners are released. This is often followed by a mock trial. Two women dressed up to impersonate chiefs of rival tribes, argue an old, imaginary quarrel, usually pretending that there has been a raid by one party on an ivory caravan going to the coast, with stealing of the ivory, while the other party in revenge has caught and killed some of the people belonging to the first mentioned. The thing may be kept up for an hour with much talking and great zest, all those taking part being women. Finally each party agrees to give compensation for the damage done; each presents the other with bundles of sugar cane, and friendship is reëstablished. That night, everyone again rests quietly.

The fourth day is known as *lyuwa lya kuzyanga* (*kuzyanga*, "to go round about," referring to the dancing which goes on). Dancing takes place during the day and also the ceremony of *Lukwe* to be referred to later. One of the favorite songs sung this day runs as follows:

[533] [539] *"Hilemba'ji mkamba'peipe onindo mwana mkangwe'pa, omwe! ambeenga upanjanowa!"*
"(Took this) a present don't give me free wait for me little girl, dear me! and we'll have some fun together!"

On the fifth day, return is made to the villages. The girl *wali* attended constantly by their *akamwali* then live together for the period of instruction in huts in a special enclosure in the chief's village or in similar enclosures in a number of villages. The *wali* may go out into the village but must go about with bowed head and look no man in the face; they wear bark-cloth called *liwiko* and should they meet anyone, they must pull over their faces the [753] kind of hood with which their garments are provided. They may not share food with outsiders. If they did so, the latter would sicken with a disease called *chiumbelu*.

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woman guardian shows to her man red and white beads in her hand and tells him that white indicates health while red means sickness, thereby pointing out to him their deep-rooted beliefs in the diseases associated with intercourse or association with women during menstruation.

[533
539]

Then follows a test of manhood. The women guardians put little pieces of stick (*lukwi* = sticks or firewood) on their heads and sing:

"*Ngamya nikwenga lukwi lwa masuku'chamuno liu!*"
"I must give my wife (when sick) firewood of the *masuku* although it gives lots of ashes!"

What is meant is that when his wife is ill, the husband should fetch the firewood even though he does not know which woods give least ash; the *masuku* tree gives many ashes. The little piece of wood a few inches long with a notch in the middle is then handed to the young man by his guardian. He places it on the ground in front of him, kneels down, and with a small axe he attempts to divide the stick at the notch. If he is successful, he is greeted with cheers, clapping, and much rejoicing. By proving his power to hit straight, he has also established his manhood; it is prophesied that he will soon have children. Should he miss through nervousness, shouts of derision welcome him and his guardian shows her disgust with his performance. If he is a young fellow well-liked in his village, he may be allowed to make a second attempt. After this ceremony, each couple bathes each other in their shelters by pouring water over the head and body without removing the clothes, thus making brotherhood. Forever after the man must treat this woman with great respect, must not address her for some time, and then only after making her a small present.

The woman guardian picks up the two pieces of the broken *lukwi* and on the morning before they all leave *Chiputu*, the mother or sister of the young man gives her a string of red or white beads saying, "These are to bind up the bundle of wood." The man's guardian binds up the pieces of wood with the beads and gives it to her man. When they have returned to the village, they go to the young man's wife and he presents them to her. The guardian, however, steps in and slips off the beads which she keeps, while the wife, pleased at her husband's success, drops the two pieces of wood into the fire.

During the weeks that the girl *usali* remain under instruction in the village, those young men who have been *ku-lukwi* sleep in one big enclosure away from their wives and do not cohabit until after the second return from *Chiputu* is made.

[177]

Another *ku-lukwi* test sometimes, I believe, introduced into Yao ceremonies but really one practised by the Mpotola people and not proper to the Yao, is as follows:

The guardian lies on the ground, wearing a small loin-cloth, and holding beads in her clenched hands, red in one, white in the other. Her man standing at her feet, bends over her and projects saliva on to her abdomen through a rolled up leaf held between his lips, at the same time choosing one of her hands. If he chooses the hand containing the white beads, he is hailed with delight as a man indeed, but should he choose the hand containing

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the other women joining in the refrain. A number of these songs are here given but each *nahenga* has her own favorites which she sings. They are only sung at *Litiso*. 843

Alitete, kuinjeni: alitete kuinjeni; Chorus *Mbirunjiruni.* 843

Now you are clucking before laying an egg. Be content then, you must not be running about any more: (Chorus) Call her back for me. 533 539

Ku-tetera, " to cluck as a hen " comes from *te! te!* the sound of the hen. Another song is:

Atetereje atole te. Chorus *Atetereje.*
You must cluck, cluck, cluck, little mouse.

A set of songs sung by Kuliati are as follows:

1. *Mtwe ngulwala, kumalemba; amasi!*
   I have a headache, surely; oh dear me!
2. *Japolo, japolo, chemwali, kwatuka mwanyama!*
   Startled (like a rabbit), little girl running like a wild animal.
3. *Asungula'wa walepiwe ulamba!*
   The rabbit they praise for its cleverness!
   Kumkamula ngolokotolo kumlemba ilemba!
   He caught (the name of a little bird) and cut his hair in the *ilemba* fashion!
4. *Unejí ndiri jua mtima; ndiponile, Chenjerwa apita!*
   I have a good heart; I am contented, Chenjerwa has gone!
   Ajipwe makwatapwa, amasi achamasi!
   He has taken away all his dancing things, dear me! oh dear me!
5. *Wakwambapa'wala, kwa! nawe atalanjira twalala!*
   Those who are speaking (an exclamation) show us that we may see!
   Mlasi ngwile mlungu, tatemwa, chikata, ngulelwe, wajeje; ngolongulelwe wajeje!
   The bamboo has fallen with the wind, they shivered with fear (an alluvial plain), (a thing which is stuck) (well-drained).

In native songs, full poetical license is indulged in and it is often difficult to give exact translations of them. The first has reference to the woman making a fuss because she feels ill with her pregnancy; this she is not supposed to do. Number 2 refers to the fact that she has a new experience which may cause her to be startled, but she need not fear. In number 3, *ngolokotolo* is a bird which has a mark running back on either side of the mid-line of the crown of its head, resembling a method of hair dressing wherein two bands are shaved from front to back parallel to the mid-line. *Chenjerwa* (number 4) is the name of a man but this reference is apparently now without point. Number 5 is sung by the *nahenga* when she hears murmurs of others in the crowd starting to sing other songs; she intimates, " Here are we singing, let us hear you others who wanted to sing; you are probably afraid now." In the latter part of this song, words are made use of which have a slang meaning known only to women. *Chikata* is a woman's slang word for the female pudenda; *ngolelo*, 843 539

for witchcraft were carried out by strangling with a piece of calico at a place appointed for the purpose some miles from the chief's village. [674] [696]

There was no case against a man who seduced an unbetrothed girl, the latter being considered entirely at fault. [684]

After divorce, the children always remained with the mother. The man left his wife after the case, saying, "I will take my spear and some of the goats and chickens, but the children will always know their father." [586]

Murder was a question of compensation to the deceased's relatives and was not punished by death. [682]

Stealing was a serious offence but many who were found guilty were rather despised than punished. The thief with the stolen goods tied about his body but otherwise stripped naked would be driven through the village and prodded with sticks to the sound of drums and hoots of derision. Most crimes, however, might be punished by exacting compensation. Payment took the form of goods or slaves. In the case of murder, the accused might have to pay several slaves to the deceased's relatives, and in addition, a fine to the chief for spilling blood, consisting perhaps of one slave. The amount of compensation expected was mentioned by the plaintiff in the case. One of the expressions used was, "My compensation must cover an ant hill," meaning enough slaves, standing hand in hand, to surround an ant hill; ant hills in this country are sometimes very big. If a man had no slaves, he would send his relatives or he himself might be forced to become the slave of the plaintiff. There is a saying anent this practice: [685] 681

Chitumbili wachitowile wachila wakwe!
The monkey they tied (with) tail his (own). [539]

Slaves passed over to a man in payment for crime became free men; they were an addition to the village and might even be adopted in place of a murdered individual. [567]

When compensation was made by the defendant to the plaintiff, the latter always returned some part of it as a sign that friendship was again established.

Goods or money received in compensation for murder, i.e. blood money, might not go for the purchase of food or clothing. Detection of a guilty party by means of magic and proof of guilt or otherwise by ordeal poison are dealt with elsewhere.

Bluffing anyone into giving something for nothing, obtaining goods by false pretence, was not considered a crime, as anyone was "*fair game.*" For instance, a party of youths would waylay a man with a load of fish, saying they had been ordered by their headman to commandeer it. If the man parted with his fish, so much the worse for him; if he showed fight, he was respected and friendship made with a give-and-take of fish and snuff. Such bluffing is called *kulya nasu*, "to eat with them." To add to their appearance of *bona fides*, the party might have secretly borrowed some well-known article belonging to their headman. 674

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771 784 6. It is believed that signs of guilt are visible in the eye of a murderer; medicine is procured in the hope of getting rid of these signs.

7. The possession of the hair of another person is supposed to give the possessor power over that person, hence a medicine man, when the patient he has been treating is cured, shaves the patient and keeps the hair until payment is made.

[826] 8. A native with light greenish-grey eyes is not to be trusted. He is said to have eyes like a cat and is called *wajaviavi;* these eyes are rare among natives.

9. It is unlucky for a child to get into a basket; he may be burned.

10. Should a woman turn the porridge pot upside down, every one who has eaten will become constipated. For the same reason, a woman, after turning out the porridge from the pot, just touches the top of the mass of porridge with the bottom of the pot.

11. A woman will never leave the pounding stick in the grain-mortar. Should she do so, the heavens would fall.

12. When a zebra is killed, a knot is tied in its tail so that eating of the meat shall not cause indigestion.

13. It is unlucky to sit upon a headrest, the *mwanilo.* The person would surely be bitten by a snake.

[843] 14. If a man commits murder, and his wife is pregnant at the time, she must sleep on the spear used.

15. Children are told that they must not eat at night; that if they are hungry, they must lie quiet and try to go to sleep again. If they don't obey and sit up eating porridge, a long hairy arm will come through the fastened door and beg for some, the voice of the unseen saying:

[539]

"Nyao chinukuti'chesi nzaya ni mjasi!"

"Give me that which you put to your nose to smell and throw away,"

the repeated movements of the hand to the mouth (nose) and back to the pot being supposed to make the " bogey " think that they are not really eating but merely smelling and throwing away the food.

16. A male should not scrape the porridge off the porridge stick; this is only allowed to the woman. Should a man do so, it is supposed that when he goes hunting, he will hit anything he shoots at, only in the tail.

17. There is a saying that the men and boys may eat little pieces of porridge which fall out of the pot, while cooking, on to the supporting stones and it will give them power to escape unhurt from battle. These fragments are called *nguluputo,* (from *ku-lupuka* " to escape").

18. Children are instructed to take their food sitting down instead of being in a hurry and standing to take it. They are told that if they do not obey, their porridge will not go into their stomachs but into their legs and swell out their knee-joints.

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30. If a chameleon is found holding on to the grass at both sides of the path, the path is "closed" and a man will turn back to his home and not proceed on his journey. It would be unlucky to continue.

31. Snakes seen in coils are a bad omen.

32. The slow-worm known as *likumbulo mosupulo* ("the cutter open of ant hills"), and the scaly anteater, if seen on the path, are of bad import.

33. To knock the toes against a stone on a journey is bad luck; if blood flows from the big toe, it points to good luck.

34. A man knocking the sole of his foot against a stone knows that some one is speaking ill of him.

35. A person whose hands itch knows he will receive a present.

36. Tremor of the circumorbital muscles of the right eye indicates that something good will be seen. When the left eye is affected, the outcome is less sure.

37. The cry of the bird *ngulululu* (the green turaco), indicates to the hearer that he is about to meet some one, either friend or enemy.

38. Anyone who kills one of the large stick-insects (*Phasmidae*) known as *chikoso chitwiga*, will always be breaking the cooking pots afterwards.

39. The natives believe that the caterpillar of the *Hippotion osiris* moth will jump at the breast. It is called *chitumbila mawele*, "that which jumps at the breasts," and children seeing it will cover up their nipples with their hands.

40. Of *Liwulu*, the Mongoose, there is a saying:

"*Liwulu* *yapoklanyana* *wikila*"

"The banded mongooses relieve each other (at) the recoil"

It is said that mongooses assist one another when being hunted. When one is tired, a fresh one runs in so close to the pursuer that he goes after this one and leaves the tired one, and so they keep it up till the pursuer is exhausted.

41. *Chiula*, the frog. Children are told they must never kill a frog, or its spirit will come at night with porridge made of excrement and make them eat it. If a small child playing with a frog kills it by mischance, he will tear off a small piece of his calico cloth and place it by the frog as an offering.

42. *Chindindi* (*likungwe*, Chin.) the weasel. It is said that the weasel hides its body and leaves exposed its anus, so that a chicken seeing it, goes up to peck at it, whereupon the weasel turns round quickly and catches the chicken with its mouth.

43. *Chinguvu*, the skunk (from *ku-ngu*, to go to stool), so named on account of its odor, is said to apply the anus to a rat-hole and make wind. This will render insensible all the rats in the burrow and he can then dig them out at leisure.

44. *Mlinzi*, the honey badger, when hunted is always said to attack a man by attempting to seize the testicles. Natives when they hunt this animal, tie stones in their loin cloths so that they hang down between the legs to defeat the badger.

48. A child, when one of its milk teeth drops out, stands some five yards away facing the door of the hut and throws the tooth over the roof of the hut, saying:

"Ai lilungulu lino lyanu alyo, ndani lyanga lyambuse 'lya!"
"Oh! crow tooth your there is, give me my of good one!"

Religion. The matter of the religious beliefs professed by natives of East Central Africa is one beset with many difficulties to the student of today. It has been the subject of many essays by workers in the missionary field, but the wide contact of the natives of Nyasaland with missionary effort during the past thirty years has done much to confuse the problem, and one feels that many missionaries in their writings rather color the picture with their own feelings.

I think probably the Yao with whom I am now concerned have a truer conception of their own beliefs than many of the subject tribes among whom mission teaching has more easily taken root. The religious beliefs of a people are to a large extent the reflection of the circumstances under which that people lives. The outstanding event to all natives is death. At death, something is lost to the body, without which life is impossible. This is the *msimu* which may be translated "soul" or "spirit." The *msimu* is said to leave the body of the dying man when he becomes moribund or unconscious. It appears that this same *msimu* may leave the body during unconscious states unassociated with death, as when a man faints, in epilepsy, and during sleep.

Apart from this evidence of the dissociation of the *msimu* from the living body, the Yao believe that a man's shadow is an objective manifestation of the soul and they will say "the shadow is the *msimu*." Fear is experienced if a man jumps on the shadow of his fellow. Light is also thrown on the constitution of the *msimu* by the belief in a certain evil-spirit which dwells in deep pools. It is called *chimale-mesi*, which means "one who may finish (drink up) all the water." The superstition regarding this evil spirit is that it can suck the blood from your shadow as you stand at the edge of the pool, till you become so weak that you fall in and are drowned.

After leaving the body at death, the *msimu* goes to take up its place in the spirit-world, occupying a position corresponding to that held by the man during his life. With a truly materialistic conception, the soul is supposed to have all the attributes of the dead man, - to be wealthy in proportion as the man was so on earth, and its relative position will be identical with that which he held among the living. The tribal chief becomes a paramount chief in the spirit world, the lesser chief holds sway in his lesser capacity, etc. We shall see that in intercession, when the tribe is threatened with calamities, it is the late paramount chief who is appealed to for help, and when one feudal chief is at war with another, the chief's dead predecessor will be called upon for aid. When a village is moved, it is from the spirit of the dead headman of the village that success in the enterprise is sought. Similarly, in family trouble, some dead ancestor is entreated to set things right, while a native

769 484 787 A man leaving his village on some expedition and wishing to be assured of safe conduct will procure some millet flour. Going quietly into his house, he squats down in one corner and gently sifts the flour through his hand so that it falls on the floor in the form of a little cone, repeating as he does so, his prayer for safe conduct beginning and ending with the word *chonde!* please!

[539] *"Chonde! chonde! wa-ku-mulungu ambuje mlangunye maso gangu nilikone*
"Please, please! those at above ancestor clear eyes mine that I may see
litola, ngwicha 'chenene kunguja, chonde! chonde! choccconde!"
the path, may I arrive well where I go, please, please, please!"

He then covers the cone of flour with a basket. On the morrow, he will uncover it to see what has happened. According as the cone has remained intact or has fallen to one side or the other, the omen indicates whether or not the journey should be undertaken, the reaction being caused by the spirits to whom his supplication was addressed.

769 Again, there may have occurred much sickness in a village and the people conclude that the post has come to remind them that they have not been attentive to their deceased chief. "His grave-house in the village has been allowed to fall into decay," and so on. They will decide that his spirit must be propitiated. The grave-house is rebuilt, a pot is sunk in the ground, and beer is poured in, and round about heaps of flour are placed. Prayer is made to the chief at whose grave they are worshipping, supplicating him in person and "all others who are with you at *Mlungu*," asking that he will no longer cause ill to befall the village.

When a village is moved, the beer-pot from the grave of the old chief is taken to the new village and a ceremony similar to that just described takes place, with the prayer that he will come to the new village and continue to exercise his benevolent care over its people.

731 769 In 1880 when there was a threatened famine on account of long drought in Zomba district, Malemya decided that supplication for rain must be made to the spirits of his illustrious predecessors. Kasonga, one of Malemya's wise men, acted as high priest. A large amount of beer was brewed and the night before the ceremony, twenty sheep and fifty goats were slaughtered. Plates of the meat, of rice and porridge were then placed on the ground round the grave-house of the old Malemya, and pots of beer set into the ground at intervals. At the head of the grave, little heaps of *mbepesi* flour were arranged. This flour had been prepared by such of Malemya's wives as were not near a menstrual period. The following morning, a fence was built round the grave, outside which all the people collected, while beyond them again was a second fence. Kasonga, accompanied by an assistant then appeared, and amid absolute silence entered the inner enclosure. He addressed to the old Malemya, at whose grave they were all assembled, a prayer for rain. He then repeated the prayer, invoking the aid of all the past line of chiefs down to the reigning Malemya, repeating their names. Returning to the outer enclosure, he again uttered the prayers, all the assembled multitude repeating them after him while lying face down, resting on their

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Lumbe Mtanga is the prophet of famine, a man of great height who stalks the round of the country, stepping from hill-top to hill-top along "the fairy way," the "*Mtiro wa Lumbe Mtanga*," which is supposed to run right around Nyasaland and never to cross a river, starting and ending somewhere near the junction of the Shiré with the Zambesi river. As he goes, he can be seen from a hundred miles away. He carries the *kalimba* instrument and plays as he walks, singing:

"*Kulira nayo imuyayo kutipa soyo mutendere namisha onse!*"
"You cry out (in trouble) with the midges therefore I must call up the wasps, this season of famine!"

which might be rendered, "You people grumble about small troubles, so I will teach you to know better by inflicting great ones." When he is seen, there will be famine.

It will be convenient here to allude briefly to some of the beliefs connected with meteorological phenomena, as some of them have a bearing on native religious beliefs. The remarks made under this heading for the Anyanja hold good for the Yao. The morning and evening stars are called *Namtoleka* and *Namapalaya*, the good cook and the bad cook. They are looked upon as the two wives of the moon, one of whom feeds him so well that he grows fat, the other who does not, so he wastes away. The constellation of the Pleiades is called *Jhinila;* the Milky Way, *Lichinga usiku*, "the watcher of the night," when high in the heavens, dawn is near. When shooting stars are seen, natives exclaim "*mapala mbajol*" *Mapala* is a many-pointed arrow. Eclipses are recognised but no explanation is vouchsafed. Thunder is supposed to be the noise of rain falling in the heavens before it reaches the earth. The rain is sometimes supposed to be the condensing steam from an enormous pot of water boiling over a furnace fire in heaven. The lightning is conceived as a lizard-like animal which dwells in the clouds and darts out from behind them and comes to earth and breaks up trees and may kill a man. Mica is supposed by the Yao to be its excrement. The animal is called *Njasi*, and is the same as *Mpamba* of the Achipeta who consider the mica to be the broken egg-shell of the lightning dragons' eggs. There is a large red compound lily, a species of *Haemanthus* also called *Njasi*, which is in some way connected with the lightning. No Yao child would ever touch this flower. Children are always advised never to seek shelter under a big tree but always to make for a bamboo thicket, for if the lightning strikes the bamboo and splits it, it will get caught inside the hollow stem.

Gales of wind are said to emanate from a plant called *Chanyula*. It is described as having one process like an elephant's trunk and others like two fingers. It is found on the tops of very high mountains, growing alone and surrounded by bare rock. This plant is used by medicine men to gain supernatural powers. *Chanyula* is also the name of a parasitic plant on the charcoal trees in Nyasaland.

The world is taken by the natives as they find it; to them no explanation for its being is necessary. So far as I can find out, there is no idea among the Yao of a Creator. The

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776 773 791 origin of mankind is explained in a story given elsewhere; *Mulungu* takes no part, nor is the supernatural even invoked in explanation.

The religion of the Yao may then be summed up as ancestor worship plus an ill-defined, uncertain belief in a supreme being. Their religion is not animistic. There are certain spirits of evil, demons, fairies and supernatural beings and animals which, however, do not play any *real* part in their religious beliefs.

● 539 **Native Sayings.** Natives are very fond of sayings, many of which are of the same nature as our own proverbs. The meaning of many of them is, however, not always self-evident but depends on some little story with a moral.

The following are some of those which I have collected among the Yao near Zomba:

1. *Akamutile likambale!* (or *lipuku!*)
   He caught a fish, (a mouse!)

An expression meaning "He slipped down." The variations being used when wet or when dry under foot.

2. *Ulamba uli m'meso!*
   Cunning is in the eyes (evident).

An expression meaning "Look out; some one is after us!"

Kabulu chenjera!
Rabbit be clever!

This is a Mang'anja equivalent to the above.

3. *Chenguphizwa wachitelechele mwipanda!*
   A thing that did not listen they cooked in among the herbs!

An insect which had not listened to advice about the dangers of sitting on herbs used as vegetables, was gathered up by a woman and cooked with them.
An expression used with the sense "If you do not take advice and anything happens to you, it will be your own fault."

4. *Mtelo uli m'mapikamilo!*
   Medicine is in the ears!

Meaning "You are forewarned; it is your own look out!"

5. *Nampalamucha wamilichelo chilulakasa!*
   Mr Would-Be-Clever they left with the skull!

Ku-halemuka, to be clever (to show off); an expression made to a newcomer who unbidden joins in a discussion. It has reference to the following story and means that anyone joining a party unbidden may find himself in an awkward situation. Some strangers came to a village, and after being given food and quarters, all retired for the night. One of them, however, Mr. Would-Be-Clever, hearing something going on outside crept out of the house to find out what was happening. Seeing some people playing at catch-ball, he

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joined in the game, unasked. Next moment, the ball came in his direction and catching it 539
in the moonlight, he suddenly found himself grasping a bleached human skull, while every-
one else had vanished. There he had to stand frightened as he was till the morning, when
he was found in this ridiculous predicament.

6. *Tungawe watitaipa majani pinyuma!*
Mr. Il-We-Were-You let escape the baboons of the owner (himself).

Ningawe, meaning "if I were you" is also used.

This expression signifies "A man cannot serve two masters" or "He who tries to please everybody will please none," as is explained in the following story: Mr. Tungawe and another man had their gardens adjacent to one another but the latter's was next to the forest and the baboons used to come and ravage his crops. He therefore consulted a medicine man who gave him medicine to put all over the garden, which would cause all the baboons who came to the garden to die. "But," said the medicine man, "you must promise to bring me the *Mtulya!*" (the little baboon which acts as sentinel and guide). The man did as he was told with the medicine and in the morning found all the baboons dead in the garden; so picking up the body of the *Mtulya*, he was just going off with it to the medicine man, when Mr. Tungawe in the next garden who had been a witness of the good wrought by the medicine, said, "If I were you I should not take the little *Mtulya*, but the biggest baboon to give to the medicine man," so after hesitating, he picked up the biggest baboon to take instead of the little one. Immediately, it and its fellows came to life again and ran away into the forest!

7. *Mkakaya wo wasela wanache ujuzi!*
While they delayed, the children singed the serval cat!

This expression has the meaning, "If you do not do a thing at once, you may be too late!" and has reference to another story. Some youths out hunting killed an animal which they did not recognise, so one of them went back to the village where he found the old men all chatting and told them they had killed an animal they did not know. The old men said, "We will come and see it", but they went on chatting until a second message came. Still they said, "Yes, we are just coming," but they did not go; so the boys not knowing any better, instead of removing the skin, which is of value, with the hair on, singed all the hair off which was their custom with some animals, so that eventually, when the old men arrived they found they had lost a valuable skin. Another saying with the same meaning is: *Mkakaya wamelekela wanache pa upuwo*, "By delaying she gave birth to a child on the mat."

8. *Anapalele kpuwo wamekwenekele!*
(He who said), "I look at the sun", he went astray! [Cf. Johnny-head-in-the-air.]
Che ngunaga wasiche ku wasi!
Mr. The-One-Who-Asks arrived at the village!

●531 An expression intimating that a man who is cocksure about doing a thing may come to grief, whereas the man who takes the trouble to get information gains his object.

9. *M'lesni mwangalangala mwiwe!*
In the moonlight you cannot cut out a thorn!

A free English translation of this saying would be, "There is a proper time for doing everything." It involves the implication that doing a thing at the wrong time may result in evil.

10. *Apakanuwa wasilaga ambaje wene!*
Mr Mouth hurt master his!

An expression intimating that careless speech may bring a man into trouble: the mouth is looked upon as the slave of the body. The expression has reference to a story which points a moral against smoking hemp. There was once upon a time a big *chief* who had a headman (Apakanuwa) to whom he entrusted all his messages. One day, the *chief* brewed beer for hoeing and the big drum was beaten to call all the people together, and thus, the chief leading, they all went to the gardens, but the headman who used to smoke hemp lingered behind and in coming later, while crossing an open glade between the village and the gardens, he saw a human skull beside the path. Half intoxicated with the hemp, he kicked it, saying "Who killed you?" The skull answered, "Apakanuwa!" The man was frightened and so kicked it again; then going off to the *chief*, he related what had happened. The *chief* and all the people returned with the headman to the place where the skull was and the headman, kicking the skull, asked again who had killed him, but no answer came, and so with a second interrogation. Then the *chief* had the headman bound and said, "What you say cannot be trusted. You waste our time with your untruths," and he had him killed.

11. *Kolo hakesi upasinaga kwembe!*
Having baldness you must not hide the razor!

An expression meaning "If you have no further use for a thing yourself, do not throw it away; it may be useful to others!"

12. *Lelo lelo mkwenbe wapilikile!*
Today today the mkwenbe was blackened!

A saying meaning "he who hurries will not do best!" *Lelo*, today; *lelelo* here has the meaning "in a hurry." *Mkwenbe* is the name of a small jet black bird. The story goes that when all the birds were being painted, the mkwenbe bird was very impatient and coming up to the painter, said, "I must be done today; I am in a hurry." The painter said it would take longer but acting on mkwenbe's persistent cries to be done quickly, he just took up a brush and painted him black all over. The following is sometimes added:

Kwenbelaga wundu wapatile mawundu (or dundu)!
Being patient the wundu bird came by spots (or marks on its head).

18. *Chembogo, nchiki nguuga mkisi!*
Chembogo, they ate guinea-fowl raw!

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An expression depending for its meaning on the story given below, used by a husband to his wife or by one woman to another, intimating that the woman has delegated her work to some one else and is not looking after things properly. A man killed a guinea-fowl and gave it to his wife to cook. She, however, gave it to her servant, Chembogo, to cook in the house while she sat doing nothing on the verandu, calling from time to time to know whether it was cooking well, to which always came answer in the affirmative, "eh." When the meal of porridge was ready in the evening, and she went to get the guinea-fowl from the pot in the kitchen, she found that it lay in the pot in cold water as her servant had only put one handful of grass to make the fire under the pot and then left it.

14. *Ku-w'mahiku nunyulo akwaguwa!*
By holding a torch aloft (to see if the hare was asleep) before it had lain down!

An expression used to a man who by precipitate action without due caution loses that which he seeks to gain as in the following case: If a man seeks a girl in marriage whom he wants to take to live with him far away in his own village, instead of himself settling in her village according to custom, he must not let this be known or he would be refused.

15. *Wakuniyo nikha!*
(Your wife) she is showing the porridge stick!

An expression used to a man who is homesick.

16. *Mtwa wa hakombolo!*
(He has or you have) the perseverance of a suitor!

An expression used to anyone who keeps on asking for something and is a nuisance.

17. *Mkupani hapakulapo ku mwao ni ku mbango kwakwe!*
The flour (ought) to be painted on the forehead and on the back of the head also!

Mkupani is the offering of millet flour to the departed spirits, or as here, the sacrificial flour used by the chief to smear the front and back of the head of each boy at the end of the initiation ceremonies. The meaning of the expression is that "one should not only look forward to the good things of the future but also remember all the help that has been given one in the past." [769]

18. *Mkunjungo wam'wenda wapamba pa tukwi!*
He who comes and goes and comes again they shot him with an arrow in the buttocks!

Of which the sense is "a man may do wrong once but if he continues to do so, he will suffer for it."

19. *Lipakwa kpamkila ukuku!*
The pig was made a scapegoat (on account of) the ghostings!

A pig who was found picking up the remnants of a corn in a field which had been robbed, was thought to be the thief and killed.

● 539 30. *Wandile gulungu ukusi!*
He was "let in" badly over the fish-sticks!

A man had put a lot of fish on spits to roast round the fire. While he went to get some more firewood, a *thief* came and took all the fish. A stranger then approached and was examining one of the sticks, saying, "There must have been a very nice fat fish on this stick," when the owner returned and immediately accused the innocent stranger of stealing his fish. A native coming across a corpse will run away, using the above expression, for if he reports the matter, he may be the first to be accused.

31. *Sumpolo wa wakolele (wamwaka) wa wasile!*
The impotent man had been to him a child in a joke!

[B42 558] A native man who is impotent is very much looked down on and he is the laughing stock of the village. He is constantly made fun of by the women. The story goes that such a man when being chaffed, said, "All right, let me have the prettiest girl in the village," and they said, "All right, old *sumpolo*, you can do her no harm." But it came to pass that she became pregnant and the women were disgraced. The meaning of the expression is: what is done as a joke may become a reality.

32. *Mawo winji ng'amba apo nyama asondi!*
Days many, hairs of an animal few!

There are more days than there are hairs in an animal's coat! If A has done a good turn to B, and B behaves badly to A, A will remonstrate, using the above expression, meaning, "You may want my help again some day, but I shall then refuse and you will suffer."

33. *Chilundu chanyilinge mukowa!*
The (country) earth cannot (be) measured in cubits!

Meaning, "You never know when you may want return for your good deeds.

34. *Kwamula kwalinga, kwaku kuliyinziga! or kupanga pa mata!*
To be generous (is) to save up, to be stingy (is) to drop coconut! or to throw in the fire!

Kinshuwa returns to the door.

35. *Uwili ukwa, ujiko wanpikisanda kunyuma!*
Two-arms (is) good, coconut he cannot rub the back!

Ku-kwanda = to rub the back of another person while bathing, a thing a native appreciates very much. An expression often used with the meaning, "There is safety in numbers," (*usinji ukwa!*)

36. *Kulupa ukwisilikwisikile!*
Being in a state of poverty, one must not hang (oneself)!

Ku-lupa = to be poor, to be in trouble. Do not give up hope.

37. *Kwisikilupa kujumpilile kwinuga!*
Having become rich one must jump for joy in the dark corner of the house.

Meaning "Though you are prosperous at the moment, do not make a show; all these things may pass away quickly," or *Kwindida nkwinjimpitila pesa!* "One should not rejoice openly."

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10. *Wakle mwaka pa mtwa!*
They have eaten mwaka fruit on the head!

The intimate of a household who betrays the friendship of the husband by culpable intimacy with his wife is said "to eat mwaka fruit with the wife over the head of the husband." (Cf. French, *faire cocu.*)

11. *Mpemba wa kudilila mangolowa kwitila ni'mwa!*
The arrow he is watching, it does not take long to reach the eye!

A man who looks on and does not take steps to stop an ill at the beginning will suffer heavily in the end.

12. *Ni'mangamwinga kipanga!*
You kept me holding a stone!

You are late in your appointment; you have kept me waiting.

13. *Likubi pikikamila mkinji (or nkwidimila) likulitika!*
The jackal when he swallows mkinji fruit is swallowed; (i.e. a jackal knows he can void the seeds of this fruit).

Likulitika has the sense of when jumping over a stream, the jumper is sure of landing on the opposite bank. The expression used of a man means that he feels pretty sure to get through with what he is doing. (Note: Some in contradistinction to jackals are said to eat mwaka but always to expel the seeds from the mouth, as the seeds are sharp-pointed and very irritating. I have myself seen a man die from perforation of the bowel by these seeds.)

14. *(Akwete) mpuche mpuche mulikinga!*
(He has) mourning mourning of the bat!

Reference is made here to the habits of the bat which often makes a meal of figs and then flying to other trees, leaves its droppings under them also so that one might take them to be fig trees, too. The saying refers to a man who manages to involve a lot of others in his own trouble.

15. *Mapesiu akulapa mpi!*
The mouth-weapons they (people) admire (its) footprints!

The mapesiu is a small rodent whose footprints may be seen all over the gardens in the morning, but seldom the animal itself. The meaning of the saying is, "If you are going to steal, it does not matter if you leave your footprints, but do not hang about and get caught!"

16. *Ndende dimuno mandolola matwaka!*
Mr I-Must-Do-Well they on him heaped the mwaka!

● 535 **Well-meaning people often get into trouble!** This refers to a story of a man who had a great friend in another village who died. Hearing he was dead, he went to the village and found all the relatives mourning the dead man. To show his friendship, he commenced wailing and went into the house and lay down by the corpse among the *chief* mourners, though not one of them; later, he fell asleep. While asleep, evil spirits (*mwazi*) came and set upon the corpse and removing the liver, they took out the entrails and hung them about the sleeping man's neck, and smeared his hands with blood. In the morning, the mourners found the man in this condition and to avenge what they supposed to be his desecration of their dead, they killed him. The interpretation put upon this story and the meaning of the saying is that " however well intentioned you may be, you should not transgress customs."

86. *Kyuba ja chikwala ulwa chikwani*
The liver of *strangeness* long tail!

A newcomer in the lord-yard is pushed at by the other lords and if it had a long tail, this would be noticed. In the same way, " If you are a stranger in a place, anything you do will be remarked; therefore your conduct should be exemplary."

88. *Nkambuka mwayi ga Chikoko!*
Do not *weave* me with the *merriment* of Chikoko!

This is a woman's saying, meaning, " I don't want to be dragged into your quarrels! " Chikoko is an interesting word. It is a girl's name used as Polly is used in English in speaking to any girl child whose name you do not know: " Come here, Polly, and show me the parents's house." For Tommy used in the same way, the Yao says *Mwanyago*.

87. *Nakowa akapinda amani!*
The liver basket he deals in a neighbour!

Nakowa is a small flat basket with ornamented rim. The meaning of the phrase is: " one's neighbours are not always disinterested."

88. *Ajimila mwakwiki!*
He has stolen eggs!

This is an expression used of anyone who has blundered. It is said that he is so surprised at being there accused that the kimvungu stops.

88. *Awanali, chimwapanga apile ulwali ku ngumi!*
You girl, (with) expectation to burst blistering to the back!

In a native house, the man and woman lie side by side on a mat between the fire and hut wall, the man next the fire, feeling it when sleeping. When he wishes to enjoy marital relations, he turns towards the woman and lies on his side with his back to the fire. The saying refers to the unserious husband whose advances are refused by his wife, but he pretends until his back is blistered by the heat of the fire. The saying intimates that it is no good going on wanting a thing refused you; *you only suffer for it.*

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48. *Gonwe kwako ntukuta!*
Lying on the rock, hunt!

This is a slang expression which in full would read, "It is nice and warm lying on a rock in the sun, but it is not so comfortable as being in bed in company with your wife; you can go on waiting but you won't get anything." This might even be said to a dog, watching as a dog will, every morsel of food lifted to its master's mouth.

41. *Kukupilila nsusi ga mkina!*
To have hopes of water for maggots!

It is a custom before lying down to sleep on the floor mat, to take it up and pour boiling water on the earth floor to kill any blood-sucking maggots (Congo floor-maggot, *Ambumenopia*). If you see a pot cooking on the fire, you naturally think there is food being prepared but you may be disappointed; it may only be the pot for heating the water to kill the maggots. The saying is thus used to a man who has made an assignation and is disappointed but goes on waiting.

42. *Kukuma ngwe!*
To bite cockroach-like!

The cockroach is described by natives as going up to what it will eat, remaining quiet for some moments, and then suddenly taking a bite. This is said of a man who comes up to you smiling and then hits you a hard blow.

Among the Yao as among other tribes that I have previously mentioned,[1] signs of salutation to a superior are made by clapping the hands or patting the breast or buttock with one hand, at the same time crouching down. A woman will go off the path and kneel, looking away from a superior passing along the roadway.

A person going by the door of a hut where others are sitting, will say "*Kwinjapo kuno!* At the door here." Passing behind anyone, he will say "*Ku-upa 'nsi!* At the back!" Meeting anyone on a path, a man will simply say, "*Ishe*, here," adding perhaps, "*Kuchako!* all is well!" A chief or headman on returning to his village after a journey, is greeted by the women with trilling of the tongue (*Ku-lulula*).

Man and wife do not greet each other in the morning. The wife rises first and draws water and places it in the hut for the husband's use but nothing may be said.

When a visitor is entertained and a chicken cooked for a repast, the "pope's nose" is always for the visitor. The right hand only is used in dipping into the common pot. A man of small importance, though replete, will go on making pretence of eating at a common meal by taking very small amounts so that his superior shall finish first, and rise and go away before him.

I may here add the words used by the Yao for the sounds made by various animals; they are interesting to compare with those of other languages:

[1] 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 200-208.

The dog	*nee nee!* (as in bark).
The cat	*ngaa!*
The moth	*kekekikiki!*
The lion	*ku ku ku!*
The chick	*kaw kaw kaw!*
The ape	*aaa!*
The sheep	*baa!* (as in baby).
The goat	*mbi!*
The dove	*coo coo!*
The lion	*ng'wwang'u!*

Among the Tao, clever and obscene language are rare; expressions which appear in other languages all the world over are only used on great provocation and commonly with dire results. This, too, is opposed to the ways of neighboring tribes, the Anyanja and Angoni, who freely make use of such expressions as "*Ngini ga mukai!*" and "*Ndanga wa mukai!*" "The genitals of your mother! Chisele of your mother!"

The following exclamations of abuse and expressions of obscenity will be seen to follow very closely upon those in other countries.

1. *Mwisichanwa!* (to a girl or woman), *mkolaki!* (to a boy or man) means you are a person who has not been to your Dipanga, and therefore "you are without manners!"

2. *Mwana mkangani!* an expression to a child meaning "you little wretch," "you nasty little thing!"

3. *Akukha kwai kjanzi!* he eats with the back of his hand, he is uncircumcised, i.e. "he is a dirty person!"

4. A man with big ears is hailed "look at your ears like a lemur!" (*Likwindo*, a lemur).

A Tao woman seldom, or never swears at or uses bad language to a man nor the converse; the woman, however, is not behindhand in the art of bitter complaining and nagging.

Pulling down the lower eyelid with the finger accompanying some exclamation has exactly the same significance as in European countries, "I am not as green as I look!"

Kwenga is to make a sound like "*pish*" with the mouth, and is a great insult, for which a man will fight.

Sawing of the lips to one side as in the action to get rid of the sour skin of a fruit, *kwasa ng'wapa* is an expression of contemptuous disgust.

The similarity to European ways is again seen in swearing or taking oath. A Tao swears by the spirits of his ancestors or by a child:

"*Christ the Mulungu!*"
"(By) the graves of *Mulungu!*"

or he may indirectly name some ancestor:

"*Kyakwikila kyangu!*" or "*Kyakwikila kitukwa!*"
"I swear by the spear!" "I swear by the fire!"

3: Stanman D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT? Tan FT?

swearing I swear by the spirits of him who was killed with a spear (or by a lion), referring to some one well known to have in such wise met his end, or again:

"*Kyakumbila kwenda kwa wanda!*"
"I swear by the *kwiba* of (all) men!"

an equivalent to swearing by the day of judgment; or again a man may swear by his own death:

"*Likoko kinyinjilo n'mapikumila!*"
"Earth may it enter (my) nose!"

or he will intimate that his throat should be cut by drawing his finger across the neck, if he does not speak the truth.

There is a gibe around Ilemba in swearing. A man saying, "I swear so and so," is asked, "By whose grave-house? *Ni'ani wa chimi?*" The man who is in reality only bluffing will say, "Chakuma! By Chakuma's grave!" Chakuma a small headman near Ilemba of whom much fun is made.

Native stories. The fables or stories found among the Ilemba Tao are many of them variations of well known tales, and have been collected to some extent by others. I only propose to add here free translations of a few I do not remember to have read elsewhere.

THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANT

The elephant made a big garden and planted sugar-cane. When it had grown, he asked all the other animals to come and partake of it with him. When they had all assembled, the buffalo, the eland, and all the other antelopes, the zebra and all the smaller animals, the elephant invited them to eat. He made one condition, however, anyone who, having chewed the sugar-cane, made a sucking sound as he swallowed the juice before spitting out the fibrous part would be killed (*kwajaga*, Chin. *kwapeula*, to suck, making the sound "*ukhuh*").

So the animals all sat in a long line and the buffalo started chewing his piece of sugar-cane, but when he tried to get all the juice out of his piece, he went "*ukhuh!*" so the elephant twisted his head till he was dead, and then picking him up, threw the carcass aside. The same fate followed for the eland, for all the antelopes and the lion, so that the other animals became afraid and would not volunteer to eat the sugar-cane but went away and the carcasses of the dead animals were buried. The elephant then appointed another day and invited the animals to come again and try.

That day, the hare came and made salutation by clapping to the elephant who demanded what he wanted, so the hare replied, "I have come to eat sugar-cane." "You know my rule," said the elephant. "Yes," said the hare, "I know *your* rule but I want some sugar-cane." So he was given some while all the other animals looked on to see what would happen. "Please," said the hare to the elephant, "may I have the outside part stripped

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● 539 all, as I have not got strong teeth?" This was done for him and he started munching some pieces of sugar-cane as he sat on a stone with the rest of the cane beside him, while the elephant watched. "Did you kill the buffalo just for saying 'ehkuh'?" said the hare, as he sucked the juice from the fibre. "Yes," answered the elephant. The hare pondered awhile as he chewed up some more cane. "Did you kill the eland for saying 'ehkuh'?" again asked the hare. "Yes," answered the elephant, as the hare each time spat out the sucked-dry fibre. With each mouthful the hare asked about another animal until he had finished all his sugar-cane.

Then the elephant, seeing that the hare had finished and had not once made a sucking noise as he swallowed the juice, said, "You are a wonderful animal" and he gave him half his garden and they have been friends ever since.

This is one of the many stories illustrating the hare's supposed cleverness and cunning.

The Hawk and the Cock

How the birds of prey came to ravage the fowls

At one time, all the eagles and hawks used to be afraid of fowls. The cock inspired them with awe; they thought with his crest of red horns, he must be very dangerous. One day after talking it over, they decided to send their little brother, the Kaitetela (the smallest of the hawks) to investigate matters. So Kaitetela flew down to the earth as an ambassador of peace to interview the cock who was strutting about with his family. He explained to the cock that the eagle, Kapungu, their king, wished to be on friendly terms with the cock but that they were afraid of his crown of red horns. The cock answered that it was not made of horn but was quite soft; "Come and feel it," said he, "it is nothing to be afraid of." Kaitetela was frightened, but when the cock repeated the invitation, Kaitetela did so. He was surprised to find it soft and evidently nothing to be afraid of. The cock accepted the eagle's message of friendliness, so Kaitetela said good-bye and prepared to fly away. Just then, he spied one of the cock's daughters and no longer being afraid, he darted down and picked her up and bore her away to the presence of the eagle to whom he related how the cock was nobody to be frightened of, saying, "See here, I have carried off one of his daughters." So all the eagles and hawks saw that the fowls and their cock were a weak tribe and they could easily make war on them and carry off their children.

The Pig and the Baboon

How once friends, they parted, the baboon staying on the tops of the hills, the pig going down into the plains

Long ago, the pig and the baboon used to live together on the hill-sides. One day, it was very cold and a cutting wind was blowing. As the pig and the baboon sat on a rock in the sun trying to get warm, the baboon turned to the pig and said, "This wind is enough

3:Stanner D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

to wear the end of one's nose to a blunt point." "Yes," answered the pig, "it's really enough to blow the hairs off one's buttocks and leave a bare, dry patch." "Look here," said the baboon getting cross, "you are not to make personal remarks"! "I did nothing of the kind," retorted the pig, "but you were rude to me first." This started a quarrel and they came to the conclusion that neither cared for the other's company. So they parted and the baboon went up on to the rocky top of the hill, while the pig went down to the plains.

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The Cock and the Crocodile

"Kukikikiri! Cha Ngwena wakwanga!"
"Cock-a-doodle-do, the crocodile is my friend!"

When the reptiles heard the cock giving voice, one morning, they were much annoyed, saying, "What is the cock that he takes in vain the name of our King!" and they made a case about it, and all the birds and reptiles came to attend the case, and the crocodile and the cock were also present.

After the reptiles had made their charge against the cock, the eagle Kapungu, king of the birds, spoke, saying, "This is a matter of clan relationship. Can the cock claim the crocodile as his *wakwanga*? What is the crocodile? What is the cock? We must get to the bottom of the question. Is it not from an egg that each comes?" To which the crocodile answered, "You speak truly but we had never thought of it before; we are friends," and then he swore that inasmuch as men killed his brother the cock, he would kill men, and from that day to this, he is man's enemy.

Note: This is an interesting story with its reference to clan relationship. The native seems to forget, however, that a crocodile will devour fowls along with most other things, including his own brother.

The Tortoise and the Baboon

Why the baboon has no tail

Once upon a time, the tortoise made friends with the eagle and invited him to come and pay a visit. So one day the eagle alighted at the tortoise's home and was there entertained and fed. When leaving, he asked the tortoise to return the call but the tortoise having explained that he could never walk to the eagle's place of abode, it was decided that the eagle should then and there carry him. So the tortoise asked the eagle to wait for a few minutes and he went into his house and got a bag. Into the bag the tortoise crept, asking the eagle to fasten up the bag and tie it to his leg and thus fly with him to his home. Arrived there, the eagle gave his guest fish to eat and the next day when the tortoise wished to leave, he received some fish to take with him. This was put in the bag fastened up with a long piece of string, the other end of which the tortoise tied round his neck. Saying good-

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539 kye to the eagle he asked him to toss him down from the tree so that he could reach the ground and walk home. On reaching the ground, he started off for home with the bag trailing by the string behind him. On the way, he met some baboons, one of whom seeing the bag ran and took it, saying it was his find and belonged to him. The tortoise naturally argued the point and they decided to go to the elephant to have the dispute settled. After hearing the evidence of both sides, the elephant gave his verdict in favor of the baboon. "The baboon had found the bag and therefore it must belong to him. If it had belonged to the tortoise, he would have been carrying it on his shoulders." So the tortoise had to go home without his bag of fish. After a few days, he thought out a plan of revenge. Going to a place where he knew the baboons often met, he dug a hole under a stone and getting into the hole, he lay in wait. Presently the baboons arrived and one came to sit on the stone. Creeping out of his hole, the tortoise laid hold of the baboon's tail, calling out, "I have found a *chikoti* (whip)." The baboon immediately replied that it was his tail. "No," said the tortoise, "I have found it trailing on the ground. Finding is keeping; anyway we will go to the elephant about it." So they went again to the elephant who upheld the tortoise, and ordered the baboon to cut off his tail and so the baboon lost his tail.

The Snake and the Partridge

Once upon a time, there was a partridge who lived in the grass on the plain. One day a bush fire spread towards the place where he was feeding and he decided that he must fly to a place of safety. As he was taking his little run preparing to fly, a snake called to him, saying, "I can find no hole to get into and I am afraid I shall be burnt. Let me coil myself about your neck and you could thus carry me to a spot which is already burnt." The partridge agreed and with the snake wound round his neck, he flew away and alighted on a place over which the fire had already passed. "Now," said he, "would you mind unwinding yourself from my neck?" But the snake answered, "What am I going to eat here in this burnt place?" and tightening his coils, he strangled the partridge.

There is a saying apropos of this story:

"*Ndende*	*'chenene*	*wanjo*	*ampasi!*"
"I may do	well	killed	partridge!"

and one in Chinyanja:

"*Uhene*	*anapa*	*nkasi!*"
"Kindness	killed	the partridge!"

Ndende 'chenene and *uhene* have the meaning "the wish to do a kindness; Misplaced kindness is fraught with danger!"

The Hare, the Leopard, and the Bushbuck

Once upon a time, a man hoed his garden and planted it with beans. When the crop grew, he was much troubled by the animals from the forest which came and damaged his

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beans, so he set a snare to catch them by the leg. One day, a leopard came that way and got caught in the trap. After a time as he lay there unable to move, he spied a bushbuck with his mate and four young ones and called to him to come and help him. The bushbuck, when he saw the leopard in the trap, took pity on him and undoing the rope, set him free. Said the leopard, "I have been here three days and am famished. You have been very kind to me. Will you extend your kindness and take me to your home and give me food? I am very much indebted to you, and to show my gratitude, I will remain with you." So the bushbuck assented and led the leopard to his home where beans were cooked and put before the leopard to satisfy his hunger. But the leopard refused them, saying that he did not eat beans. So some fowls were killed and cooked and given to him to eat. Every day he was given fowls to eat until none were left and the same thing happened with the goats. So when there was no more flesh for the leopard's food, they cooked some beans for him. Then the leopard again explained how greatly he was indebted to his benefactor, the bushbuck, and that he would like to show his gratitude by staying with him but that he really could not eat beans and asked the bushbuck to give him one of his children. The bushbuck did not like to refuse, so one of his little ones was killed and given to the leopard who ate him. Next day, the leopard asked for and received another child and so on until all had been sacrificed and only the bushbuck and his wife remained. The leopard demanded the wife and the poor bushbuck, not knowing how to get out of it, had to give the leopard his own wife to be eaten. When the leopard again felt hunger, he said to the bushbuck, "Well, now you have been very kind to me and given me all you have but you still remain. I think I will have to eat you, too." But the bushbuck being now really frightened, made off into the forest chased by the leopard. After running for three days, the bushbuck met a buffalo who asked him, "Why are you running so fast with a leopard running after you?" So the whole story was told and the buffalo's advice asked in the matter, to which he answered, "Well I don't think that you can do anything except continue your kindness and give yourself up to the leopard." But the bushbuck ran on again and meeting the elephant the same question was put to the bushbuck and in answer to the story, he received the same advice as the buffalo had given. So with nearly all the animals of the forest until he met the hare who, after listening to the bushbuck's story, offered to act as judge in the case. So when the leopard came up, the hare told him he would like to see how the whole thing had come about from the moment he got caught in the trap. All then repaired to the place where the snare was. "Now," said the hare setting the trap, "will you just show me how you got caught? Of course if you are trapped, I will free you again." So the leopard stepped on the trap and was immediately caught by the leg. "Ah," said the hare, "that is the way it happened, is it?" with which he went off, taking the bushbuck with him, leaving the leopard now to die of hunger. Later, some one came along and finding the leopard in the snare, killed him.

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The Hare and the Hyaenas

539 Once upon a time, a hare went to seek work with a lion and agreed to attend to the drying of the meat the lion killed. One day, when the lion was away hunting and the hare was busy attending to his work of drying the meat, some hyaenas came by and seeing the meat asked the hare to give them some, but the hare refused, saying it was not his own but belonged to the lion his master. So the hyaenas just went and took and ate of the meat, and made off. This went on every day and the hare becoming much distressed about it, decided to try and trap the hyaenas, so he dug a game-pit and having put pointed stakes in the bottom, he covered it up with grass. In the afternoon, he went out for the daily supply of firewood, and on his return he was dismayed to find that the lion, his master, had fallen into the game-pit and been killed. After this, he abandoned the pit and thought of another idea to defeat the hyaenas and avenge the death of his master. He got the lion out of the pit and carefully removing the skin, he dried it and stuffed it with grass and fixed up the stuffed body in the forest close by, and attaching one end of a rope about its neck, he carried the other end to the place near by, where he went on with his work of drying meat. Presently the hyaenas came along and as usual asked for meat. The hare this day invited them to come and take what they wanted. Pretending to be friendly, the hare remarked how well one of them would look with a nice piece of rope tied round his neck, like a necklace, and the hyaena's vanity being touched, he allowed the hare to fasten the rope round his neck. Now this was the rope to the other end of which was attached the stuffed lion, and when the next moment, the hare called out that the lion was coming back and the hyaenas started to run away, they found that the lion followed them. Wherever they stopped to get breath, there he was still on their tracks, so they decided to run for a hole they knew where they could hide from the lion. After they had been in the hole sometime, one of them peeped out, but there was the lion waiting at the mouth of the hole. Day by day they got more hungry but every time they peeped out, they always saw the lion waiting for them, and so it happened that they grew weaker and weaker and eventually died of starvation.

The Hare, the Elephant, and the Hippopotamus

The hare challenged the elephant to a tug-of-war, the understanding being that if the elephant pulled the hare over, the hare would pay, but that if he did not succeed in pulling the hare over, then the hare should receive the wager. To this the elephant agreed, and away went the hare to the hippopotamus and made a similar proposal to which the hippo in turn assented. On the day appointed for the contest, the hare handed one end of a long rope to the elephant and arranged with him that he, the hare, should signal a blast on a horn when they were to begin pulling, the second blast to be the signal for the end of the contest. The hare then trotted off with the other end of the rope and found the hippo,

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with whom he made a similar arrangement. Then, taking up a position midway, he blew on the horn and the elephant and the hippo started pulling against each other, each ignorant of his opponent. Neither could pull the other over, for they were both equally strong. So the hare blew a second blast on his horn, and going to the elephant received the acknowledgment of his defeat and the wager, after which he went to the hippo who was also defeated, and so received his second wager.

The Story of the Dzimwe

Once upon a time there was a woman and she was with child. One day she wanted some meat to eat and asked the Dzimwe to give her some. The Dzimwe agreed to give her some meat if she would give him her child when it was born. To this the woman assented and received the meat. In due course the child was born but the woman thought no more about the Dzimwe until one day she met him and was reminded of her promise. So the woman arranged with Dzimwe to send her child to the garden to gather pumpkins so that he could catch him. The child's name was Kalikalanje which means "he who *frys himself* in a pan." The Dzimwe went down to the garden, changed himself into a pumpkin, and waited for the boy's coming. Presently Kalikalanje arrived and looking at the pumpkins, said, "I only gather one that dances," so the Dzimwe in the form of a pumpkin started dancing about and the boy ran away calling out, "No! really I don't gather pumpkins that dance." A few days later, the Dzimwe sought out the woman and related how he had been duped, so the woman proposed to tie the Dzimwe up in a bundle of grass in the forest which she would then send her son out to get. Kalikalanje, sent out by his mother for a bundle of grass, came across the bundle containing the Dzimwe, and remarked that he only took bundles of grass that danced. And when the bundle started dancing, the boy ran away, calling out that he did not really take bundles of grass that danced. So the Dzimwe a second time was frustrated. Again he went to the boy's mother and asked her, saying, "You promised me the child, you must make some other plan to deliver the boy into my hands." This time she hit upon the idea of sending the boy to another village to play *nimpe* (a kind of game of nine-pins), and told Dzimwe that he would be able to recognise her son as she would shave his head and give him a piece of red cloth to wear. So Kalikalanje went to play *nimpe* with the boys in another village, but arriving early, he got them all to shave their heads and tearing up his piece of red cloth, he gave each boy a piece to wear. When the Dzimwe arrived, he was again baffled as he did not know which was the boy he ought to have. Once more he met the woman and explained how her plan had miscarried, so she suggested that she should send her son out hunting in the forest and the Dzimwe could catch him there. So the youth went out hunting and he took his four dogs with him, including his dog, *Mawalayenje*. As he went through the forest, he suddenly came upon the Dzimwe, so he climbed up a tree. "Ah," said the Dzimwe, "I have got you at last!" and commenced to cut down the tree. Then Kalikalanje called to one of his

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539 dogs to attack the Dzimwe and the dog rushed in at him but fell dead, killed by the wind passed from the bowel of the Dzimwe. The same fate fell to two more dogs. Then Kalikalanje called his dog, Mawaisanyanje to attack the Dzimwe. Mawaisanyanje flew at the Dzimwe, making wind at the same time as his enemy, and was unhurt. He bit and bit at the Dzimwe till he killed him. Then Kalikalanje came down from the tree and got medicine and his three dead dogs were brought to life again, and he was not molested further.

[114] NOTE. This story is only an incomplete form is given by Hind in his *First Yao Reader* and I have therefore thought it worth while repeating it in extenso. Miss Werner[1] has referred to Dzimwe but seems very doubtful of the meaning of the word. It occurs only in the story given above, common to both Wayao and Anyanja, and simply refers to a fabulous personality, one of whose attributes was the ability to change into various forms. Scott in his dictionary,[2] mentions a Chinyanja word, *Dzimwe*, an elephant, so called because of its large belly filled with masses of unchewed food.

NALUMBALAPA, THE NIGHT-JAR

One day when the night-jar was strolling along, he met some guinea-fowls and approaching their leader, he said, "I envy you when I see you going along accompanied by many of your people. I should be very glad if you would help me by giving me medicine to make me also a chief among others." So the guinea-fowl said, "That is all right, but you must come at the proper time when I am at home." In the evening, the night-jar went to the guinea-fowl and the guinea-fowl gave him some medicine and told him, "Take this medicine. You must then get some animals' dung and mix the medicine with a basketful of it. Choose a nice site and sprinkle it all over with this. Then build your own hut there. The rules about this medicine are as follows: If any people come to stay with you and do any damage to your crops, don't abuse them; speak gently." "All right," said the night-jar, and went away to follow out the instructions. When this was all done, one evening some one came and clapping hands at the door, called to the owner. The night-jar went outside and found a man with his wife and children. They had come to settle down with him. (He was going to be a chief among men!) So he told them to come in. After a few minutes, others came, and then all night others arrived until the house was full and others camped outside. Within two days, there was a big village. Then the night-jar went back and reported to the guinea-fowl. The guinea-fowl again bade him keep to the rules. Then the people made a big garden for the night-jar and planted cassava and many other things and they were all quite happy. One day, all the people came together and said they were going to make a bigger garden for their chief, the night-jar. The children went too, and played in one of the cassava gardens. One of them dug up some roots and showed them and the night-jar passing and noticing this, was very cross and began abusing the children and their

[1] British Central Africa, p. 333. [2] Op. cit., p. 559.

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mothers. When they heard the alarm, everybody stopped hoeing, put their hoes on their shoulders and with their wives and children went away, till no one was left in the village, except the night-jar and his wife. "I don't know what I am going to do. I must run to the guinea-fowl and see if he can put this affair right," said he. He reported to the guinea-fowl all that had happened. Then the guinea-fowl said, "You have broken the rules. It is too late; it is finished and I cannot give you medicine to call them back. It is your own fault." The night-jar said, "I think you can help me. Give me medicine to make me invisible. If you do not, the people may come back and kill me." "For that I will give you medicine," said the guinea-fowl. "Now, after you and your wife rub yourselves with the medicine, as you sit together a man can walk past you and not see you." So they got the medicine and went home and used it. And that is why you cannot see the night-jar now as he sits on the road when you pass.

The Story of the Hornbill (Liputumbo)

Once upon a time, there was a man named Liputumbo. He lived in a village but would not conform to the customs of the people. This the people did not like. Especially did they take exception to his refusal to attend the last rites for the dead. Once again he was asked to pay homage to the dead and accompany the funeral procession of a fellow villager to the grave, but he refused as usual. Soon after, his own child died, but no one came to offer help in preparing the body or in carrying it to the burial ground. Not knowing what to do, he tied the body up and put it upon his head and so left the house to search for the burial place. "*Ku mulondo kwe?* Where are the graves?" he asked the first man he met. "I don't know," was the reply. He wandered on, putting the same question "*Ku mulondo kwe, kwe, kwe?*" to everyone he met but no one apparently knew. So he wandered on until the body became rotten and ran down his nose and dripped off the end. He has been wandering ever since with the last piece stuck on his nose, always searching for the graveyard and asking "*Ku mulondo kwe, kwe, kwe?*" and all his descendants do the same.

Moral: Conform to the customs of your race. (Note the beak of the Hornbill and its call.)

The Story of the Young Man Trying the Advice Given to Him by His Father

There was once an old man and he was dying, so he called his son to him and said, "I am dying, but before I go, there are three things I wish you to beware of doing: Firstly, do not tell your wife your private affairs; secondly, do not make friends with a policeman; thirdly, do not borrow money from a poor man but from a rich man." Having uttered these warnings, the old man died. No sooner was the burial over than the son thought over his father's words and doubting to try and see whether there was wisdom in them, he went along to a poor man he knew and borrowed shillings and to a rich man and bor-

539 rowed a sovereign and thence home. Saying nothing about the money, he left his house the following morning and bought a goat. Waiting in the bush till dark, he killed it and then bound up the carcase in some grass and carried it to his hut. Arrived there, he excitedly told his wife he had killed a man and wanted to bury the corpse which he had brought with him, under the floor of the hut. So the woman brought a hoe and together they dug a hole in the middle of the floor and having deposited the body in it, the earth was filled in and the woman replastered the floor with mud, and made her cooking fire over the spot. "Now," said the young man to himself, "my father told me not to tell my wife any of my private affairs and not to borrow money from a poor man. Both these I have done. One thing remains; I must find a policeman to make friends with." Going out, he met two policemen, so he said to one of them, "I should like to be friends with you, come to my house"; and the policeman agreed and went with the man to his house and a fowl was killed for them to eat. He introduced the policeman to his wife as his friend and she started cooking porridge. When it was ready, she brought it outside to the two men who were sitting on the veranda of the house with water to wash their hands and they commenced eating. Then the man called his wife back, saying the porridge was not well cooked — "It is only fit for dogs!" — and struck his wife a blow. The woman immediately appealed to the policeman to protect her, saying her husband would kill her as he had killed a man, a short time before. So the policeman arrested the man and took him away to the magistrate. The magistrate sent the police back with the man to the village to find the body of the murdered man. Its resting place was pointed out by the woman and after digging, they found the body tied up in the grass. All said, "It is just as the woman stated!" and they began striking the man and made him carry the body back to the magistrate. On the way, they met the poor man, who on seeing his debtor cried out, "Where are you going, where is my sixpence?" "I am going to the magistrate. I am supposed to have murdered a man," he replied. "Where is my sixpence? You will get hanged and I shall be the loser!" yelled the poor man. "Wait a bit, I may not be killed," said the man, "I may be able to pay you back presently." "No you won't, you will be hanged," was the reply and the poor man hit him as he passed. Later, the party met the rich man and the accused called to him, "I am in trouble and don't know when I may be able to repay you your loan"; but the rich man answered, saying, "Never mind about that now. I am sorry you are in trouble." When they came before the magistrate and the man put down his load, it was opened and the body of the goat disclosed. Then the magistrate asked the man what it was all about. So the man related his story, telling the magistrate how he had wanted to test his father's advice, and how it had all proved to be good advice.

Note: The story as given here is doubtless an adaptation of an older story to present day conditions. I have not been able to get any more original form.

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

About the Greedy Man (Jua Mlume Juakuchukwa)

Once upon a time, there was a man and he went and set a trap and caught an *mbeshu* (gnaet cat). So he brought it back to his home and singed the fur off and partly roasted it, and then hung it up from the roof inside his hut without telling his wife to cook it. It was in the summer time. One day his wife said, "I am tired of gathering herbs to cook for your relish. What about the animal hanging up there? Shall I not cook it?" The husband replied that not for anything would he have it cooked. "I am going to keep it till we get our new crops in," he said. So the woman said nothing and time passed and the little animal got as dry as a bone. One day when the man and the woman had gone to hoe in their garden, the *mbeshu* came to life again and jumping down, found the basket where the woman kept her clothes and beads; opening it, he took them out and dressed up in them. Thus arrayed he went out of the hut and came to the place where some women were pounding grain; so he began to sing and danced to them. His song was:

"Achambamba'we kutuwa'ko misi jose kicha kicha, mbwi! jukutu! jukutu!"

"The women (who were) pounding there pounding sticks all they have left!"

and he told the women to sing the chorus "*Nanchalamanda!*" (*Mbwi* is the word used to indicate the sound and action of a short hop on both feet like a bird or some steps in a dance. *Jukutu* similarly has reference to the movements of the buttocks in dancing. *Nanchalamanda* means "very dry," referring to the *mbeshu* and the treatment he had suffered.) So they all danced together, but when he judged the people would be going back to the house, he escaped and ran back to the house and putting away the clothes and beads in the basket, he went back to his position hanging from the roof. This went on for several days and many of the boys and girls in the village used to go to the pounding place to see *mbeshu* dance. One day the child of the man who had caught the *mbeshu* recognised the cloth he was wearing as belonging to his mother and noticed him go back to their house. So he went and told his mother and father who, when they looked into the basket, noticed that the things inside had been disarranged and that the cloth was dirty. So they said they must find out what was going on, and next day, pretending to go to their garden, they hid themselves. Presently *mbeshu* came down, put on the cloth and beads and went out of the house to dance as usual. When the man and his wife appeared, he ran away to the house, threw off the cloth and hung himself up to the roof, but he had not quite shrivelled up dry again when they came in and discovered him. When *mbeshu* saw that he was found out, he jumped down and ran away, this time quite free into the fields, so the woman scolded her husband for saving up the animal in greedy fashion so long.

Note: When telling these and other stories, there is a regular formula with which the narrator prefaces his discourse. The story-teller begins:

3: Stanmar D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

539 *"Lakuta lakuta kuudo ku"*
"Picking up picking up a little basket full"

to which the listeners exclaim

"Lakutaa!"
"Overflows!"

At the completion of each sentence in the story, one of his listeners will exclaim, "Go!" When he has finished his story, he says,

"Afuhule kutolo kutuhuwunga pamtwe pakumwe, unko chipanjili"
"Take off the fire, the little mouse lest it be singed, by the head it is very hard, the hair (is) in a lump!"

During the intervals of a long story, one of the listeners may break in and sing some little song, such as the song of the *mbendu* in the story of the greedy man, thus giving the story-teller a rest.

342 The house and household utensils. The Yao house does not differ greatly from the Nyanja habitation which I have already described elsewhere.[1] The accompanying figure (Pl. XIV, fig. 15) gives the circular plan of a hut with a veranda partly open and partly enclosed to form a room. The central pole of the hut is indicated, the hearth (H), the position of the sleeping mats (M), and the place where the water pots are kept (P). The
352 bed may be a bamboo platform supported by forked sticks a foot above the ground (*usanga-wuli*), or a dais of mud, over which is spread the sleeping-mat, *upasa*. (Pl. XIV, fig. 14.) Seats, *chilenyu*, are made of logs of wood with conveniently placed branches acting as legs. I have seen a symmetrically carved log with shaped legs all in one piece, which suggested by its form and by the presence of a button on the midline of the under surface that it was made in the imitation of an animal. Plank seats with peg legs are now sometimes seen. Wooden pegs are driven into the wall and serve to hang odd articles upon.

[354] The hearth is simply a shallow depression in the mud floor, around which are placed three large stones to support the cooking pots. Sometimes a canopy is built over the hearth, consisting of four upright poles supporting a platform made of reeds and grass, upon which millet and other seed grains are often stored. From this platform *kipulu* (*tanuja*, [351] Chin.), the gourd containing the supply of salt is often hung. The seed grain tied up in little bundles is suspended from the *kipulu* where it becomes very dry and smoked, without any ill effect to the next year's crop. (Pl. XIV, fig. 16.) Four pronged branches of trees are often stuck in the ground with a string tied around the prongs, and used as holders for gourds, salt bottles, etc.; this device is called *lipanda* (*phanda*, Chin.). (Pl. XIV, fig. 10.)
415 The smaller utensils include the porridge stirring stick *mtiko* (Yao and Chin.) (Pl. XIV, fig. 12), several wooden spoons *chikwai* (*chipanda* or *namaiwa*, Chin.), (Pl. XIV, figs. 11, 13), a number of gourds of various shapes and sizes used as ladles and drinking vessels,

[1] 'Notes on some tribes of British Central Africa,' op. cit., p. 338-339.

524 857 on a stone. They explode with a noise like the sound of a gun. The boys send them off, one after the other, imitating fighting, or sometimes bang them down on some one's head. They go off, making the sound *(pesse)*

Small boys or girls among themselves play a clapping game called *pyapíla*. One sings:

[539] "*Pyapíla pyapíla, pyapíla pyapíla, pyapíla pyapíla, jhamquwa mzuqu'jo pa mlango pa' mao/*
"Sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep sweep the one who has passed excrement the at the door at his mother's,

Nagumba, hama, hamili" etc.,
let him clap once, twice!" etc.

They all clap together at the word "once," "twice," and so on. No one knows how many times they are going to be called on to clap, and some one is sure to clap when no word is given and so is caught and made fun of, as the one who has misbehaved.

[152 801] *Likwata* (*ku-kwata*, to clap): simple clapping when pleased with anything is commonly indulged in, mostly by women and girls.

Little girls play at making little pots. This is called *gumbaiwipa*, (*ku-gumba chiwipa*, to model a pot). They also play at pounding grain, called *chindichi*, "learning to keep time," the word itself being an imitation of the sounds. Five or six pound in one mortar; in between strokes, they throw the wooden pestles up in the air, catching them again to time.

[539] "*Jakapibula katuli jai ejo mauni jo akulaga!*"
"The one who upsets little mortar the! that one witch is bewitching!"

This is the song of a game played by little girls. One sits in the middle with a *singwa* on her head, to represent a grain mortar, while the others form a ring round her holding hands. As they sing, the circle at one point swings in, and one of the girls passes in front of the one sitting down, her back to her all the time, the hands passing over her head. This they do one after the other very quickly and anyone who touches the girl in the middle, "who knocks down the mortar," takes the place of the girl in the middle.

[539] "*Amawanga Amawanga ajichati wala!*"
"Our wives, our wives, cutting off (interjection)!"

is the song of a game played by a lot of boys together or a lot of girls together; they do not join with one another. Two opposing groups are formed of equal numbers. Each is led by one of the older children and behind him is the rest of the group, each holding on to the cloth of the one in front. The followers of each leader represent his wives. The two parties then sing and manœuver for the leader to get at the tail of the other group and "collar" a wife or two from his opponent. It becomes very exciting. As they go faster and faster, some of the tail may get swung off and captured by the other side before they can again join their own.

3:Stanonus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

Trapping and catching of animals is pursued with great glee by small boys. They make many of the traps, particularly the two kinds of *lilimo*, *chipoto*, *chijumbo*, *chilimo*, *linsimo*, and *ngwa*. *Lilimo* is set in rat runs and the rats are driven into them (Pl. XX, fig. 6). Digging-out rats is a favorite amusement for the boys and brings meat to the pot. May is the best month for this sport. They are adepts at recognizing burrows which have rats inside. Digging is commenced at one entry to the rat-warren, the escape holes being closed with tufts of grass. As they get nearer the rat chambers, they smell the earth and so know when they are quite close to the rats. A bunch of grass is then put in this hole, lighted, and kept aglow by blowing on it. One of the rats will try to bolt and is knocked on the head. His head is then squashed to kill him effectually, and the skin of the tail of the first rat is always pulled off for luck, "so that they may catch many." They will try to guess how many there are going to be, "ten and ten and five and two!" Each rat when caught is buried under some earth, so that the hawks will not swoop down and carry it off. When they have finished one warren, one of the party is appointed to carry all the rats. He ties a string round his waist, and the rats are slipped underneath it and so secured. They then go on to another; the carrier will bear the whole catch for the day and may, before they have finished, have several strings of rats round his body, one above the other.

Digging-out crabs, *ku-kepe mpala*, is another favorite amusement for children; (*ku-kepe* is to dig up anything like mud which makes a squelching sound). Crabs are never eaten with flour, but always with *nsansa*, the grain kaska, "crabs and brown-bread!"

Youths and girls fish with a rod, line, wire hook, and worm, *ku-lipanga nsomba*, to pull up fish. They also catch fish, using the fish poison, *mtuto*. Birds are killed with a bow and a blunt-pointed wooden arrow.

A small boy, seeing a girl or a younger boy with a cob of maize and wanting it himself, will say, "Let me make a path to the coast!" He will then remove, say a couple of rows of maize grains for himself, much to the interest of the owner; or "Let me make *ilemba*" (*ilemba* is a shaved head on the scalp), or "Let me make the crab's eyes!" when two solitary grains are left, surrounded by a simple ring of other grains, as the girl's portion.

Children are taught a little saying about their fingers which reminds one of the "This little pig went to market" of one's infancy. Starting with the little [illegible] they say:

"*Akuko kanguluku kanguluku!*"
"This little one (is) the one which cannot draw water!"

Pointing to the ring finger,

"*Kambalapo ujinguendi!*"
"This little one's brother (is) the one that picks the nuts!"

To the middle finger,

"*Ujinguendi nunulu nunulu!*"
"(The brother of) the one that picks the nuts (is) the one who finishes nuts!"

857 To the index:
524 "*Lukungulo lwa ng'ombe lwa kumulilo mwilimbo!*"
539 "(This one is) the leg of an ox which walks on the plain!"

To the thumb: "*Chimsumo*"
"The fifth"

857 Cat's Cradles are known as *chitapwe*, "the spider's web" (Pl. XXIII). The position
524 of the string on the hands is as in Position I of Miss Haddon's book and this is followed by Opening A, given by the same author.[1] (Pl. XXIII, figs. 1, 2.) Three methods of arriving at the same figure, which is called "the net," are shown here (Pl. XXIII). Variety C is followed by the making of a knot, figured in C 13, known as "the child." There are probably a number of other forms made by natives, but these, which I saw one of my women patients make, will serve as an example.

534 Musical Instruments. The number of instruments proper to the Yao appears to be small, indeed probably only two in number, the *mangolongondo* and the *chitapiga*, with perhaps the three holed flute, *chitolivo*.

The former is constructed on the principle of a xylophone; it consists of two trunks of banana trees laid on the ground and held in position by stakes. They are not quite parallel but approach each other somewhat at one end, being from one to two feet apart; on these rest cross-wise a number of pieces of wood of varying thickness and length, kept in position by pegs driven into the banana trunks on each side of each billet. These are struck with sticks by a single player, or by two persons sitting on opposite sides of the instrument. Another variety is found in which the pieces of wood, which may have holes bored in them to effect differences in sound, are arranged over a hole scooped in the ground (Pl. V, fig. 1).

The *chitapiga* consists of a piece of plank hollowed out to form a resonator on which are fixed a number of keys of bamboo or metal of different lengths. These are arranged across a bridge, and the free ends are set in vibration by twanging with the fingers.

[FT] The instrument now most commonly seen is the *zeze* which was introduced, I think, from the coast about 1890 to 1900. It is a type of guitar.

An instrument played by women — and this again is of recent introduction among the Yao — is the *mkwanda*, which consists simply of a stick of wood about a yard long to which is affixed a single string. One end is held between the teeth, the other in the hand; it is twanged by being struck with the thumb and finger of the other hand close to the mouth, which is opened to different degrees, and gives a variety of notes resembling those of a Jews' harp.

The *ching'wenyeng'wenye* and drums are referred to under *Dancing*.

[1] Kathleen Haddon, Cat's cradles from many lands, New York, 1911.

534 *Ntapuliga:* like *kibuti*, but played in a different way, giving the sound "*tpa tpa tpa!*"
Mukuwa: the same as *kibuti*, but with a higher pitched note. This can be produced by heating the *kibuti* drum over a fire.

Chichewa or lingoshe: a small drum eight to ten inches high, held in the hands by strings on either side, in the same way as a concertina, and pressed against the chest while being played with the fingers. It may be alternately pressed firmly and lightly against the chest, giving variety in timbre. The base which rests against the body is cut down into a kind of foot-piece (Pl. XXII, fig. 18).

Chinguenge: a small drum eight to ten inches high, rather goblet-shaped with stem and base, the circumference about equal to the height. It is beaten with two sticks, "*nguenge nguenge!*" (Pl. XXII, fig. 17).

Chimininge: the same drum played with two sticks, "*mini, mini, mini!*"

Ndimbe: a small three legged drum about the same size as *chinguenge*. It can be carried in one hand and played with the other. It is used with one stick or more, in place of *chinguenge* and *chimininge* (Pl. XXII, fig. 16).

Mviwu: an old drum not now used. It varied in size from one to four feet long, was suspended from the neck, and played at both ends (Pl. XXII, fig. 14).

It is very difficult to give any idea of the time and different sounds the drums give. People learn them by repeating the sounds the drums make thus: *Ndi dhu di ndyidi ndi dhu di ntini ntini ndyi ndyi*, etc. Several drums, often six or more, are played together, each contributing its element of sound. They are often played very fast, but the time kept is most exact.

535 Dances are ordinarily performed by everyone in a village, but there is always a leader. Or again, there are trained bands of dancers who earn their living by attending ceremonies or any festive occasion. In a few cases, the dances are only danced by professional dancers. A short account is given below of many of the Yao dances.

Libwata: (*ku-kwata*, to clap the hands). No drums are employed, but the time is kept by clapping. In some villages, drums have lately been introduced. It is a common dance in a village on any moonlight night, just for amusement. Women and girls take part. Standing in a circle, they sing and clap, while any who wish, go into the circle, perhaps a dozen at a time, and dance their shuffling steps. A song which is included under *libwata*, is a representation of the dung-beetles (*mavuli*) rolling the little balls of dung to their resting places. The women shuffle backwards or forwards, like the beetles, one pushing and one going backwards pulling. As they dance, they sing:

536 "*Libwata, kuli kuli!*"
"(oh little) dung-beetle, push push!"

Refrain:

"*Libwata mavuli!*"
"It is rolling dung!"

535 **Chinj'ombgwe'yombgo:** A soloist drama about, playing a single-string viol with a bow as he sings. His songs are all about people, village episodes full of personalities and many witticisms. Kasabasi of Mukenyi's was a well known performer (Pl. I).

533 **Songs.** The following are some of the Chindimbo songs:

539

I

1st voice. *Kutumbila nganu nyumba ushilondo nganu kongo!*
To be angry the owner of the house strangers they sleep where!
2d voice. *Kutumbila nganu nyumba Cha Hishiko ninjiam.*
To be angry the owner of the house (Mr.) Hishiko I shall die.
1st voice. *Kumbanga unami mulishye,*
To ask me to answer like you.
2d voice. *Kumbanga unami Cha M'wenge,*
To ask me to answer like master,
1st voice. *Alanu kinguulo ipepe,*
Brother-in-law I will go thou,
2d voice. *Alanu kinguulo ipepe.*
1st voice. *Awulo wenuchu epito mulishinuno.*
There (go) the children they go on all fours.
2d voice. *Oh lele'je ninjiam.*
Oh today I shall die.
Chorus. *Kutumbila nganu nyumba!*

The burden of the song is: We are we are not wanted here; better we went away!

II

1st voice. *Ah kjuwi'we kale kale kapuka nikapuskaje lele'jo!*
Ah baboon there jumping jumping to enjoy he is going to enjoy today!
2d voice. *Ah kjuwi'wami! kapuka nikapuskaje wenuwulo!*
Ah the baboon there to enjoy he is going to enjoy children!
Chorus. *Kulya nikwulo nga nyumu!*
to eat (seed) pods of dryumu!

"Seed pods of dryumu" is also referred to in a story of the baboon. When he is dozing at night sitting on a tree, he hears a seed-pod in the neighborhood crack, and wishing to mark the spot, so that he may go and eat the seed in the morning, he stretches out one arm in this direction and goes to sleep again, to be awakened by the sound of another cracking pod; whereupon he puts out another limb to mark that spot. Presently, he has all but one limb indicating his tail set out as sign-posts. Half awake he starts to put out the one remaining limb, and falls off the tree.

5

1st voice. *Ahuffi* mbwiza ngonga gulula ejo mukulukuru,
gulukuru gulusa kwe ndi? Sumbi you you,
2d voice. *Ahuffi* mbwiza chumbwala ahijuwa'we wanuju.
gulukuru they are calling me Ahijuwa there is going away home;
Chorus. *Kwenda, chikulilo!*
Remove the law from its handle!

The name of any person may be introduced into these songs, sometimes the name of a member of the village or of some person well known in the district. To introduce a name then is to invoke. *Ejo!* is an exclamation of thanks; when receiving anything, both hands are held out, and the words ejo, ejo, ejo! or nunga, nunga! are uttered.

6

1st voice. *Mukukumbi* 'gulula nambo ngukuyula ngunyungumbo ngunambo.
The millet have eaten bananas you please did not plant not.
2d voice. *Gulula* nambo ngukuyula ngunyungumbo ngunyungu, ahiti, ngunambo!
Have eaten bananas you please did not plant also, father, not!
3d voice. *Ayukuyula* ngunyungumbo ngunyungu, ahiti, ngunambo!
1st voice. *Ayukuyula* ngunyungumbo ngunyungu, ahiti, ngunambo!
Chorus. *Mukukumbi, gulula nambo!*

Mukukumbi: after the first crop of millet has been taken in, the stalks are not all cut down to the ground and the roots allowed to remain in the soil. Next season, they again sprout and yield a second crop. This second year growth is mukukumbi.

7

1st voice. *Mwimbo w'ahinguwanku chilo chilo chilowe chilo chilo!*
Lions in the palm-trees at night, etc.
2d voice. *Mwimbo w'ahinguwanku, kwimba lilumbi Ahijuwa! Pinjiwe chilo chilo* etc.
Lions in the palm-trees to sing *lilumbi Ahijuwa!* I shall die tonight, tonight, etc.
Chorus. *Mwimbo w'ahinguwanku!*

Lilumbi is the name of a drum, *Ahijuwa* is a woman's name. Cf. "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

8

1st voice. *Kilumbu, nilumbi, nilumbi!* Begone.
Trusting, trusting, trusting!
2d voice. *Kukulaga chilumbi kimbi, wanikuhi'we, ngunambi!*
If you leave trusting trusting, one leave me, I am going away!
Chorus. *Kilumbu!*

533
539

7

1st voice. [illegible] [illegible]
The one whom we were talking about, have he let that thing which happened some-
[illegible]
three ago, the day after tomorrow!

3d voice. Alligator [illegible] [illegible], [illegible]
(a name) is going that thing which happened some three ago, I am all!

Chorus. Excuse spirit some [illegible]
You give milk who has lice (2nd to) you!

The meaning of this is: " If a man comes along who has done you an ill in the past and is just as likely to do so again, should you be inclined to reward his foe by giving him hospitality? Better to go away and leave him alone."

8

1st voice (male). Kapukki'ka [illegible], [illegible]
The little lip ring that, come and wash it! Repeat.

2d voice. Kapukki'ka, [illegible], [illegible] like
The little lip ring that, you talk over there, come and wash (here today)!

1st voice[illegible] Katukimada [illegible]
Lest it turn into trouble-for-honey!

1st voice (female). Aniki who spat
What about heard you? Refrain.

2d voice. Aniki who spat what?
What about heard your father? Refrain.

2d refrain. Katukimada [illegible]
Lest it turn into medicine! (part of a medicine refr).

9

1st voice. Ankwakiki [illegible] [illegible]
Why are you crying oh! the woman!

2d voice. Tingamida [illegible]
I will take her to her own house there!

Chorus. Excuse spirit
I am going to look for hers!

This refers to a troublesome wife. " Let her go back to her mother and the husband will go about his own business."

10

1st voice (woman). Chwakudaga [illegible] of spirit [illegible]
If I were not discouraged then I would have been still trading! Repeat.

2d voice (man). Chwakudaga [illegible] of spirit'ka [illegible] [illegible]
If I were not discouraged then I should have been saying hers! hers!

Kaidwa kaidwa kaidwa [illegible]
Here, here, here, dear me!